

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 088 789

SO 007 302

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TITLE The American Labor Movement in Modern History and Government Textbooks.
INSTITUTION American Federation of Teachers, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE [74]
NOTE 53p.
AVAILABLE FROM American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, 1012 14th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 20005 (Item No. 598, \$0.30)

EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.75 HC-\$3.15

DESCRIPTORS *American Government (Course); *Collective Bargaining; Evaluation Criteria; High School Curriculum; Industrial Relations; Labor Conditions; Labor Force; Labor Legislation; *Labor Unions; Secondary Education; Surveys; Textbook Content; *Textbook Evaluation; Textbooks; *United States History

ABSTRACT

A survey of nineteen American history high school texts and eight government texts attempts to discover if schools are still failing to teach adequately about labor unions, their history, procedures, and purposes. For each text a summary account is provided of what the text has to say about labor in terms of a set of pre-established criteria. At the end of the review a distillation of all references to labor topics which appear in the text's index is included. This gives an approximate idea of the quantitative coverage of labor in the text; of the tone, emphasis and selections of topics dealt within the text's narrative; and of whether the labor topic is merely cited or listed, or whether it is analyzed and described. An introduction to the survey and review summarizes the labor events and terms regarded as basic to an adequate treatment of organized labor. The summary evaluation placed at the end of each text's review is based upon the extent to which the text included the items listed in a meaningful way for the student. The two major headings for the criteria are 1) labor history and 2) collective bargaining and labor disputes. The texts surveyed date from 1966 through 1973.
(Author/KSM)

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**The American
Labor Movement
in Modern History
and Government Textbooks**

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OTHER PUBLICATIONS BY IRVING SLOAN

Our Violent Past: An American Chronology
Random House, 1969

Viewpoints in American History Series: Labor Abolition
Random-Singer School Division

Blacks in America: Fact Book & Chronology
Oceana, 1970

Jews In America: Fact Book and Chronology
Oceana, 1970

Youth and the Law
Oceana, 1972

Environment and the Law
Oceana, 1972

American Presidential Series: Documents and Bibliography
Franklin Pierce—1968
James Buchanan—1969
Martin Van Buren—1969

The Negro in Modern American History Secondary Textbooks
AFT, 1966, 1968, 1972

Treatment of Blacks in American Encyclopedias
AFT, 1970

Hardly But a Block Shelters Jews: The Jewish Migrations
to America Alfred A. Knopf, Living American History Series

Peter Weirnik's: History of the Jews in the United States
(Editor), Hermon Press

Errata:

Hardly But a Block Shelters Jews: *The Jewish Migrations to America*, Alfred A. Knopf; Living American History Series and Peter Weimik's: *History of the Jews in the United States* (Editor), Hermon Press, are publications of Irving Sloan and should not be included in the list on page six.



Preface

Several years ago, in 1966 to be exact, Will Scoggins published a study called *Labor in Learning: Public School Treatment of the World of Work*. It was an excellent, thorough study, but not a particularly optimistic one as far as labor was concerned, for Scoggins' research "revealed serious shortcomings in the textbooks' treatment of the labor movement."

This study by Irving Sloan, a product of an AFT research grant, is, in some respects, an updating of Scoggins' earlier research. It, too, is an excellent, thorough study which looks at *current* textbooks. As the 1966 study did, this will serve teachers well as a handbook, a manual, and a guide for textbook selection.

Sloan's conclusions are somewhat more optimistic than Scoggins' but, I believe the reader will agree, while the treatment of American labor in textbooks has come a long way, we still have an upward path. This study makes a valuable contribution toward helping us move along that path.

David Selden
President
American Federation of Teachers

Introduction

"What burns the hell out of us labor people most of all is that schools go on their merry way teaching so-called history and so-called social studies hardly even recognizing the existence of the labor movement or labor management relations". - Phillip Murray, Late Labor Leader

The central question of this study is whether Phillip Murray's complaint that organized labor is "hardly" taught in the public schools is valid some twenty-four years later. At least as recently as seven years ago an earlier study of this kind concluded that, "Not a single labor topic, except industrial vs. craft unions, was adequately described or explained in the majority of the textbooks."¹ Are the schools still failing to teach adequately about labor unions, their history, procedures, and purposes? Our vehicle of approach is a review of the American history and American government or "civics" textbooks. Notwithstanding the explosion of paperbacks and audio-visual materials into the educational market in recent years, the textbooks still very much define or determine what teachers teach² and therefore what students learn. Our survey includes nineteen American history high school texts and eight government texts.

For each text we provide a summary account of what the text has to say about labor in terms of the criteria which follows shortly below. At the end of the review we have included a distillation of all references to labor topics which appear in the text's index. This gives the reader a quick idea of the quantitative coverage of labor in the text. But what counts most of all is the accuracy, the tone, the emphasis and the selection of topics dealt with in the text's narrative. Beyond that, the question is whether the labor topic is merely cited or listed, or whether it is analysed and described.

Below is a summary of the labor events and terms we regard as basic to an adequate treatment of organized labor as a force in American society. The summary evaluation placed at the end of each review of a text is based upon the extent the text includes the items listed here in a meaningful way for the student.³ We have designated two major headings for our criteria: (1) *Labor History* and (2) *Collective Bargaining and Labor Disputes*.

LABOR HISTORY - Cordwainers' strike in Philadelphia resulted in court decision declaring attempts at unionizing as criminal "conspiracies in restraint of trade," which held back unionization in the early 19th century; Philadelphia workers formed the Workingman's ticket, the first labor party in the world; *Commonwealth v. Hunt* was landmark labor case holding that an agreement for common action to achieve a lawful object was not necessarily a "criminal conspiracy", therefore unions might be formed; the International Typographical Union established as the first real attempt to form a national trade union; labor groups were the first large organized groups to actively support and strongly

advocate public education; the National Labor Union organized in 1866 followed by the Knights of Labor in 1869, founded by Uriah Stevens and later led by Terence Powderly; decline of Knights of Labor as well as labor organizations in general due to public hostility after Haymarket Riot in 1886 in which labor was blamed for violence; Samuel Gompers leads the formation of the American Federation of Labor in 1886.

"Molly Maguires" and the coal mine strikes of 1870's; first national strike in country by the railroad workers in 1877; Homestead Steel Strike in 1886 was leading example of organized private warfare between labor and management which characterized late 19th century; Pullman Strike of 1894 as the first successful use of blanket injunction to break a strike; emergence of Eugene Debs during this strike; rise and decline of Industrial Workers of the World (Wobblies), focusing attention on the needs of unskilled workers thereby giving impetus to industrial unions; great industrial strife in 1919, General Steel Strike, Seattle General Strike, Boston Police Strike raising the first time the right of public employees to strike.

Formation of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in 1925 by A. Philip Randolph, first black American to hold a seat of AFL's executive board; passage of Norris-LaGuardia Act in 1932, outlawing abuse of injunctions; the period of New Deal as the watershed in history of labor movement, Wagner Act and Fair Labor Standards Act; formation of Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in 1938 to organize unskilled workers in mass production industries; *NLRB v. Jones and Laughlin Steel Corp.*, upheld constitutionality of Wagner Act.

Post World War II labor unrest and epidemic of strikes in 1946; public hostility to labor reflected feeling that labor failed to demonstrate responsibility commensurate with its power, resulting 80th Congress' passage of Taft-Hartley Act in 1947 to restore balance between labor and management; merger of AFL-CIO in 1955; McClellan Committee of U.S. Senate investigated racketeering in labor-management relations bring about passage of 1959 Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act (Landrum-Griffin Act) giving labor quasi-legislative powers to regulate its own relations within the limitations imposed by the "public interest".

Issue of automation and the drop of union membership in the 1960's due to the reduction of employees in unskilled mass production industries; recent developments in labor, viz., public employees' right to strike and the spectacular growth of public workers unionism, migrant workers and the leadership of Cesar Chavez, the role of black Americans in the labor movement at a time when they are an ever-increasing percentage of the labor force.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND LABOR TERMS - typical provisions of a labor contract; fringe benefits, injunction; jurisdictional strike; arbitration, mediation, boycott, lockout; open shop; closed shop; right-to-work laws; featherbedding; yellow-dog contracts.

In short, the texts should offer a fairly comprehensive history of the American labor movement which will show students that the economic gains of the American worker today did not come easily; many of them were realized at a great sacrifice of lives and property. However, it should be noted that the history texts treat the *historical* background of the labor movement at greater length and in greater detail than do the government texts, which in their turn, give more attention to labor machinery and labor legislation analysis. The different objectives of a history and a government course make this difference almost inevitable.

What, then, are American students, an overwhelming majority of whom enter the labor force upon graduation from high school, being taught about what it means to be an employee? What are the dimensions--responsibilities, regulations, problems, rights, and benefits--of being a wage or salary earner? Are they gaining a better understanding of the heritage of organized American labor--"the conditions which prompted its rise and frequent eruptions, the men, principles, and tactics that guided (or misled) it, and the ideology and weapons employed to check, frustrate, or destroy its effectiveness"?⁴

By and large we conclude that a significant number of current texts do offer teachers the opportunity to put across these goals in their classrooms. The larger question is, as we had commented in our study of the treatment of black Americans in the texts,⁵ given the fact that the information is in the texts (many of them), what will the teachers do with the material? Do they emphasize it in terms of time and discussion? We think there remains much validity in another commentator's observation:

The liberal teacher, tired and sometimes even cynical, too often believes that labor has reached the 'dry rot' stage, that its evangelism is gone, its earlier promise of a brighter tomorrow largely fulfilled. The conservative teacher, circumspect and sometimes even suspicious, more often believes that labor is 'too big,' and a dangerous threat to the economic stability of the nation. And both men are apt to believe that the misdeeds of James Hoffa and Tony Boyle are representative of the American labor movement today.⁶

What is needed in addition to the use of the better texts is interest and activity on the part of labor in getting the schools and the teachers to deal with the subject of labor in a meaningful and insightful ways. Unlike business which has always offered the schools and teachers all kinds of materials which teach the "benefits" as well as the romanticized history of big business in American life, labor union education departments have been distant. Moreover, outside of a few large urban school districts, boards of education throughout the nation are dominated by businessmen and professional people with practically no labor leaders serving. The most obvious thing of all is, of course, the failure of teacher organizations to exercise influence and or pressure upon teachers to seek out the best materials on labor and then to teach the subject with bold integrity.

An important hopeful approach to teaching about American labor in the classrooms is the emergence of so-called mini-courses. These three to six week "courses" lend themselves to in-depth study of such topics as labor. A number of excellent paperbacks and audio-visual materials have become available for this kind of approach.⁷ These materials are charged with compelling primary source materials. But at the present time and for the foreseeable future, the text is king and at least at this point of time it is an important responsibility of school people to use those texts which offer the best quantitative and qualitative treatment of our subject, labor. It is the aim and design of this study to assist in that quest.

Notes

1. Will Scoggins, *Labor in Learning*, Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, Los Angeles, 1966, p. 90. This heavily documented, scholarly, study of the entire enterprise of teaching about "the world of work" in California is highly recommended for its stimulating ideas although we are in considerable disagreement about many of the criteria established by the author.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 9
- Much of the material on historical content established for our criteria is distilled from John C. Malton, *The Story of Labor in American History*. This is an invaluable resource unit which is distributed by the Minnesota Federation of Teachers at 2447 University Ave., St. Paul, Minn., 55114, for \$2.50.
4. Leon Litwack, *The American Labor Movement*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.) p. 2.
5. Irving J. Sloan, *The Black American in Modern American History Textbooks*, American Federation of Teachers (Washington, D.C.).
6. Scoggins, *cited supra*, p. 91.
7. Iman and Koch, *Labor in American Society*, Scott, Foresman and Company (Glenview, Ill.); Laslett, *The Workingman in American Life*, Houghton Mifflin Company (Boston); Litwack, *The American Labor Movement*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.)

TEXTS

U.S. History

Allen and Betts, *History: USA*. American Book Company, 1967

Bartlett, Fenton, Fowler, Mandelbaum, *A New History of the United States: An Inquiry Approach*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. 1969

Bragdon and McCutchen, *A History of a Free People*. The Macmillan Company, Sixth Revised Edition, 1967

Current, DeConde, and Dante, *United States History*. Scott, Foresman and Company, 1970 Printing

Curry, Sproat, and Cramer, *The Shaping of America*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972

Friedel and Drewry, *America: A Modern History of the United States*. D.C. Heath and Company, 1970

Frost, Brown, Ellis, and Fink, *A History of the United States: The Evolution of a Free People*. Follett Publishing Company, 1968

Graff and Krout, *The Adventure of the American People*. 1973

Hardly But a Block Shelters Jews: *The Jewish Migrations to America*. Alfred A. Knopf, Living American History Series

Hovenier, Rosentreter, Gandy, Andersen, Feller, MacGraw, and Weaver, *Perspectives in United States History*. Field Educational Publications, Inc., 1971

Link and Muzzey, *Our American Republic*. Ginn and Company, New Edition, 1966

Reich and Biller, *Building the American Nation*. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. New Edition, 1971

Todd and Curti, *The Rise of the American Nation*. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., Third Edition 1972

Madgic, Seaburg, Stopsky, and Winks, *The American Experience: A Study of Themes and Issues in American History*. Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1971

Peter Weirnik's, *History of the Jews in the United States* (Editor), Hermon Press

Shafer, Augspurger, McLemore, Finkelstein, *A High School History of Modern America*. Laidlaw Brothers, 1969

Schwartz and O'Connor, *Exploring Our Nation's History*, Globe Book Company, 1969

Ver Steeg and Hofstadter, *A People and a Nation*. Harper & Row, Publishers, 1971

Wade, Wilder, and Wade, *A History of the United States*. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1970

Williams and Wolf, *Our American Nation*, Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., 1966

U.S. Government

Brown, Farnen, and Peltier, *Government in our Republic*. The Macmillan Company, 1971

- Bruntz and Bremer, *American Government*. Ginn and Company, 1967
- Bruntz and Edgerton, *Understanding Our Government*. Ginn and Company, New Edition 1968
- Felder, *The Challenge of American Democracy*. Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1970
- Gross and Devereaux, *Civics in Action*. Field Educational Publications, Inc., 1971
- Haefner, Bruce, and Carr, *Our Living Government*. Scott, Foresman and Company, 1970
- Schick and Pfister, *American Government: Continuity and Change*. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1972
- Smith, Tiegs, and Adams, *Your Life As a Citizen*. Ginn and Company, 1970

Rise of the American Nation

Todd and Curti
Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. 1972

This is the latest revised edition of what continues to be one of the most popular secondary American history texts after many years in that position. We are therefore pleased to find that this text does an overall excellent treatment of labor in the American experience. The Cross-reference on "Labor" and "Labor Unions" in the index are the most comprehensive to appear among the history texts included in our study. Furthermore, the textual material, by and large, measures up to these references. The bulk of the labor story is related in the unit of The Rise of Industrialism in a chapter, "The Struggle of American Workers to Organize". The first section, "Complex New Problems for Wage Earners in the Industrial Age," discusses new owner-worker relations, company towns, the effects of mechanization and the railroads, the business cycle and unemployment, the closed frontier, and low wages and long hours.

This is followed by a section entitled, "The Influence of Immigrant Workers in American Society". Here it is pointed out that the immigrants played an essential part in the industrial development of the nation from 1865 to 1900. The problem of numbers, the changing character of immigration, its effect on labor and the treatment of the Chinese workers on the Pacific coast are described. The third section, "The Role of Labor Organizations in Dealing with Workers' Grievances," gives discussion of the National Labor Union, the Knights of Labor and the formation of the American Federation of Labor.

The opposition to organized labor's early attempts to win reforms comprises the remaining pages of this chapter. Here the early opposition to unions, the Haymarket affair, black workers and the unions (the last paragraph of these five paragraph discussion) makes this conclusion important for students to confront: "The virtual exclusion of Negroes from the American labor movement closed off to the great mass of black Americans an important opportunity to be included in the mainstream of American life. It also weakened the effectiveness of the labor movement itself." In this section the text includes a lengthy treatment of the weapons used by industry against the unions. Here such labor terms as black lists, yellow-dog contracts and lockouts are discussed in greater detail than most of the texts.

The support of the federal government as well as the state governments of industry in labor disputes is described. This includes a fine presentation of court support of industry through the use of an injunction, which is also explained in great detail. It should be pointed out that there is an earlier discussion of labor in this text in the unit covering the 1820's through the 1860's, in a section headed, "The Role of Wage Earners in Creating the Early Industrial System." Besides describing the early conditions of labor during the first years of the factory system as typified by the New England mills, there is some discussion of the early labor organizations such as the National Trades Union (1834) and the 10-hour working day movement. There is also another passage dealing with the "Problems of Black Workers". It is pointed out here that even then "The aims of the early labor unions did not include better working conditions for Negro workers.... Excluded from the unions, black workers often served as strike-breakers.... On rare occasions when white workers and black workers did agree to organize to improve wages, the white workers insisted on separate unions."

Labor laws are all discussed in this text, always including most of the major provisions of each of the Acts and some very limited discussion of the provisions. As again the index entries show, there is no topic connected with labor which is overlooked in this text and we have found no serious fault with any of its treatment of those topics. We might, however, indicate our disappointment that this text, too, fails to deal with the important issue of government workers and their right to strike. Like all the texts, the classic Boston Police Strike of 1919 is dealt with only in terms of the fame it brought to Calvin Coolidge.

Evaluation: Excellent

Index Entries

American Federation of Labor (A.F. of L.), 435; CIO combined with 760; craft unionism, 502, 503; discrimination, 504-505; immigrant labor, 503-04; political action, 544; program, 502; strikes, 628, 700-01
American Railway Union, 505

Automation, 812
Closed shop, 503
Commonwealth v. Hunt, 297
Congress for Industrial Organizations (CIO), 700, 701, 760
Debs, Eugene V., 505, 506, 631
Division of labor, 469
Haymarket affair, 503, 606
Knights of Labor, 501, 502, 504

LABOR, accidents and compensation, 497-98, 559, 560; artisans, 54, 56, 57; black Americans, 296-97, 388, 504-25, 630-31, 662, 763, 833; black listing, 505; child, 294-96, 501, 544, 559, 690, 752; colonial, 20, 21, 25, 28, 54, 56-58, 65; company unions, 662; discrimination, 630-31, 736; dissatisfactions, 435-36; earnings, 498, 556, 559, 690, 701-02, 757, 760, 764; education, 294-96, 510, 511; force, 876; frontier and supply of, 294, 297, 498; government attitudes, 536, 559-60, 690-91, 700-02; Great Britain, 25, 294; immigrant, 286, 294, 297, 298, 361, 442, 499-500, 503-04, 647; indentured, 21, 25, 56-58, 65, 79; Industrial Revolution and, 248-49, 294-97; living conditions, 497; management relations, 499-500, 662, 691, 756, 760-61; migrant, 830-31; New Deal, 619-20; occupations, 876; post-World War II, 755-56; restraining programs, 764, 766; riots and violence, 297; salvage, 735; Waltham system, 294; women, 294-95, 661-62, 734, 828-29; working conditions, 294-97, 497-98, 501, 544, 559-60, 628, 662, 690, 701-02; World War I, 547, 614; World War II, 734, 735; yellow-dog contracts, 505

LABOR UNIONS, 435; arbitration, 502; closed shop, 756; collective bargaining, 296; contract clauses, 756; corruption, 760; craft, 502; demands and aims, 295, 296, 501-02; discrimination, 296-97, 503-05; early, 295, 297, 501-02; government attitudes toward, 505-06, 549, 559-60,

628, 690-96, 700-02; immigrant labor, 503-04, 647; industrial, 502, 700-01; legality, 297, 549; membership, 295, 502, 628, 700; New Deal, 690-91, 700-02; opposition to, 503, 505, 628, 662; organization right, 691; picketing, 296; political attitudes, 506, 756, 760-61; post-World War II, 755-56, 760-61; radicalism, 503-506, 628, 756-60; regulation, 756, 760-61; strikes, 296, Taft-Hartley Act, 756

Lewis, John L., 628, 700, 701

Meany, George, 760

Murray, Philip, 700

National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), 591, 690

National Labor Board (NLB), 591

National Labor Relations Act, 691, 699

National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), 691, 701

National Labor Union, 501

National Recovery Administration (NRA), 690

Police Strike, Boston, 628, 629

Strikes, 296, 334, 502-06, 628, 629; government's attitudes toward, 505-06, 536, 755-56; jurisdictional, 701; lockout, 505; picketing, 296, 760; sit-down, 700, 701, 755-56, 761; strike-breaking, 504, 505; violence, 503, 628

Taft-Hartley Act, 756, 757, 761

United Automobile Workers (UAW), 700, 756, 760, 812

United Mine Workers (UAW), 504, 536, 628, 700, 756

United Steel Workers of America, 761

Wagner Act, 691, 700, 701, 756

Yellow-dog contracts, 505

The Adventure of the American People

Graff and Krout

Rand McNally & Company, 1973

This is a revision of one of the more popular texts, which reflects a trend among the many school districts which are seeking sequential texts that permit deeper exploration of the social causes of events than is possible with the prevailing two repetitive courses of the Junior High and Senior High Schools. Along these lines, this Senior High text covers the period of American history from 1876 through the present, leaving its Junior High Edition to deal with the earlier events.

A fleeting look at the index entries on labor which appear in this text reveals the likely result: a very extensive and even intensive coverage of the subject. In what is surely the most complete presentation among the texts, early in this text a chapter, "Unionizing the Working People," offers the best historical treatment of labor. One of the introductory paragraphs sets the tone of this discussion. After a lengthy description of the rise of factories as the major force in the workingman's life and livelihood; and the problems characterizing that life and livelihood, the text relates that "The best answer to labor's problems appeared to lie in the work that trade unions could do....The belief in individual enterprise, however, was so strong that united action was distasteful to many workers, whose ideals had been formed in agricultural America. Employers, moreover were likely to threaten members of unions with the loss of their jobs. Only the boldest workers, therefore, dared to defy 'the boss' by joining a labor organization. Finally, the weight of government often appeared to be on the side of the employer. This had, in fact, been the case since the earliest days of the nation."

From here the text goes on to trace the aims of the early trade unions, the legal obstacles they faced, some of the earliest major trade unions such as the Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations and the National Trades' Union. Beyond this there are passages dealing comprehensively with the political activities of these earlier unions, strong analyses of the important legal cases important to labor history --- all accompanied by large numbers of engravings, photographs, illustrations and charts. Indeed, the chapter as a whole has more graphic material as well as editorial material than any other text included in this study. Subsequent sections discuss the National Labor Union and William Sylvius, the Molly Maguires and the anthracite coal strike in Pennsylvania, the railroad strikes of 1877, the Knights of Labor and Uriah S. Stephens and Terence Powderly including the "Haymarket affair," in considerable detail. This is followed by a presentation of the American Federation of Labor which in turn is followed by a section on "The Response of Business" which describes the various weapons used by the employers to deal with attempts to unionize their employees. All the "devices" are considered ranging from spying to yellow-dog contracts. "Violence at Homestead" and "Trouble at Pullman" are included in this section. Labor terms are fully discussed. In a section, "The Opinions of the Judges," this text gives a most impressive treatment of the significant decisions in which the courts interpreted "important laws in a way that was unfavorable to labor. For a long time the courts prevented any intervention by a state in the unequal relationship between employer and employee."

"The Workshop" which is the end-of-chapter exercise of the text offers a fine opportunity for students to deal with the labor history covered by this chapter. Under such headings as "Links With the Present," "The Quest for Equality," "The Statistical View," and "Reflection and Judgement," students are likely to have a strong historical perspective of American labor history.

Throughout the remainder of the text are all the labor topics we have

established as part of our criteria, with special emphasis on labor legislation. Only in the area of labor negotiations and procedures, which we have indicated we did not expect as strong treatment in the history texts as in the government texts, is the material "thin" in this text. But overall this text offers the most comprehensive treatment both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Evaluation: Superior

Index Entries

- American Federation of Labor*, 167-169, 198, 377, 391, addressed by Wilson, 282, in 1924, 378, in 1930's, 408
- American Railway Union*, 171, 172, 173
- Arbitration*, in coal strike of 1902, 269
- Blacklisting*, 167, 170
- Boycott*, 170, 170n, 507
- Child labor*, 33-34, 254, 254*, 281*, 282
- Congress of Industrial Organizations*, 408-409
- Contract labor*, 72, 160
- Contract Labor Law*, 72, 73
- Craft unions*, 167-169, 408, AFL, 167-168, early nineteenth century, 155, 159
- Debs, Eugene V.*, 171-172, 171*, 173
- Gompers, Samuel*, 167, 168, 168*, 169, 360, 417
- Haymarket Affair*, 166-167, 166*
- Homestead, Pennsylvania*, 169*, 170-171, 170*
- Injunction*, 170
- International Cigar Makers Union*, 167
- Knights of Labor*, 165-167, 194, 198, 408
- LABOR** attitudes toward work, 530-531; blacks, 168, 265, 377; child, 254, 254*, 281*, 282, during Civil War, 72, 159-160, and Cleveland, 141, conditions, 154, 157, 159, 161, 171, 271*, 377, 410; cost of, 533; factory, 154, 161, 377; farm, 117-118, 184, 185-186, and federal government, 164, 172, 390, 404*, immigrant, 73, 174, 178, 359; and Jackson, 156-157; leaders, 165, 168, 168*, 169, 408; legislation, 407, 410, 415, 466; minimum-wage law, 410, 414, 416; Molly Maguires, 163, 163*, need for organization of, 154, 161-163; opposition to unionizing of, 169*, 170-174, 531-532; organization of, 154-155, 156-157, 159, 161, 165, 166-168, 377, 408-409, 408 (cartoon); in politics, 156-157, rights recognized, 409, 410, and Franklin D. Roosevelt, 396, 402-404, 402*, 404*, 405-406, 408-410, 415, 417, and Theodore Roosevelt, 268-269, in Second World War, 451-452; skilled, 155, 167; strikes, 155, 156*, 163-165, 166, 170-171, 172, 172*, 268-269, 360-361, 531-532, supply of, 70, 71, 117-118; and Truman, 466; unemployment of, 163, 183, 385-386, 389*, 391, 391*, 396, 402-404, 404*, 405-406, 532-533; unskilled, 155, 167, 178 use of violence, 164, 166, 169, 170-171, 408-409; weakness of, 377; women, 168, 186; workday, 157, 162, 162*, 165, 173, 282, 377, 410, 415
- Lochner v. New York*, 173
- Lockout*, 172
- Mechanics Union of Trade Associations*, 156
- Memorial Day "massacre"*, 409
- Migrant workers*, 400-401, 520*
- Molly Maguires*, 163, 163*
- National Labor Relations Act*, 407, 414
- National Labor Relations Board*, 407, 452
- National Labor Union*, 161-162
- National Recovery Administration*, 396, 397, 404, 409
- National Trades' Union*, 157
- National Typographical Union*, 159
- Picketing*, 170, 170n
- Powderly, Terence V.*, 165, 167
- Pullman Company, strike at*, 171-172, 173
- Strikes**; and AFL, 169; in automobile industry, 408; in early nineteenth century, 157; Homestead, 169*, 170-171, 170*, and Knights of Labor, 165; at McCormick reaper works, 166; and public employees, 531-532, 531*; Pullman, 171; railroad, 141, 163-164; after Second World War, 466; of shoemakers, 155
- Taft-Hartley Act*, 466

- UNIONS, 154, 156, 159, AFL, 167-169, 408, AFL-CIO, 409, in automobile industry, 408, in coal industry, 163, contracts, 168-169, and courts, 157, 173-174, early, 154-157, federal government and, 172, growth, 157, 169, 377, 408 (graph), industrial, 408, Knights of Labor, 165-167, leaders, 161, 168, 171*, 417, national, 159, 161-162, National Labor Union, 161-162, power of, 167, in railroad industry, 171-173, after Second World War, 466
Wagner Act, 466
Workers: blacks, 39, changes in, 530-531, in Civil War, 38, conditions of, 33, 152-153, migrant, 400-401, in Second World War, 451-452
 "Yellow-dog contract," 33, 170

Exploring Our Nation's History

Schwartz and O'Connor
Globe Book Company, 1969

The publisher of this text "specializes" in text materials for slow readers and it is one of the leading sellers to large urban school districts. The success is probably well-deserved if the text under review here is representative of the publisher's list. In a chapter, "The Revolution in Industry," one of the sections deals with labor during the late 19th century under the question-heading, "What Problems Did the Workers Face?" Both the working conditions and the living conditions of workers in the city are described in a fully-developed discussion. This is followed by a long passage on the connection between large scale immigration and the "surplus of labor" problem which resulted during this period. But after discussing this and other issues related to labor and immigration, the passage closes on the positive note that the new-comers "...played a very important part in our nation's progress....Their labor helped to build the railroads, work the mines, and run the factories that made the United States the world's leading industrial power. They also added many new skills, customs, and ideas to the rich mixture of our American culture."

The next section describes the opposition to unions by big business. "If they (workers) called a strike in one plant, the company could shut down the plant and lockout the workers. The lockout was a powerful new weapon of the employers. Since most workers had no savings, they usually had to return to work on the employer's terms after a few weeks." In this way the text manages to deal with a labor concept and term without spelling it out as a definition. "Lockout" does not appear in the index in the text, which indicates that in some texts at least the index does not always reflect all the labor topics dealt with in the narrative. The following passage, "A Period of Violence," describes the Great Railroad Strike of 1877 in more detail than many of the texts. The Homestead and Haymarket episodes are mentioned indirectly without identifying them as "Homestead" and "Haymarket," while the Pullman Strike is referred to in a caption under an engraving related to that strike. The last discussion in this section deals with a fairly complete treatment of the rise and fall of the Knights of Labor and the formation of the American Federation of Labor.

This text manages to explain the concept of collective bargaining in the context of its discussion of the Wagner Act, something many of the "advance readers" texts fail to even attempt. The Taft-Hartley Act is also han-

dled with greater detail and analysis than many of the other texts and does it effectively. It is here that this text even explains the "right-to-work" laws, again something overlooked more often than not. On the whole, given the goals and design of the text, both the quantitative and qualitative treatment of labor merits a high rating.

Evaluation: Excellent

Index Entries

American Federation of Labor, 372-73,
506, 512, 526, 549, 589-90
Anthracite coal strike, 414
Child labor, 409, 420, 514, 526
Collective bargaining, 526
Fair Labor Standards Act, 161, 526
"Featherbedding," 589
Gompers, Samuel, 372-73

Injunction, 371
Knights of Labor, 372
LABOR, 369, 526, 588, 597, 605, 607;
Labor Relations Act, 526, 589
Migrant workers, 607
"Milk strikes," 519
"Right-to-work" laws, 589
Taft-Hartley Act, 589-90, 685
UNIONS, 258, 371, 474, 504, 505, 507,
514, 526, 549, 578, 588-90, 597

A People and a Nation

Ver Steeg, Hofstadter
Harper & Row, 1971

Like a number of the texts included in our study, this text considers the subject of labor and the working man in a chapter which also deals with immigration. The connection between these two subjects in the late nineteenth century probably warrants such treatments. Under the topical heading in the Chapter, "Workers and Immigrants," of *The Developing Need for Labor Unions* (which is in itself a positive value judgement which reflects the tone of the text's treatment of labor), there follow several paragraphs of narrative describing the working conditions of employees during the second half of the nineteenth century. Concluding with the statement "that only collective bargaining would enable them to negotiate with employers as equals; that they needed to organize themselves into unions," the narrative moves on to a discussion of the difficulties of organizing labor.

Governmental and legal favoritism toward employers, differences in national origins among workers which divided many workers, and the immigrants and Negroes all provided problems. The antiunion activities of employers as perhaps the greatest difficulty facing organized labor is then described. Here labor terms such as "blacklist," "yellow-dog contracts," and "lockouts" are explained. In the following section dealing with the efforts to organize labor unions, a comprehensive discussion of the rise and decline of the National Labor Union and the Knights of Labor is given.

The "Haymarket Bomb" is described in detail as a major cause for the decline of the Knights of Labor. While a number of texts accompany the material on the Knights with the engraving showing black labor leader Frank J. Farrell introducing Terence Powderly at a labor meeting, this text

includes an identifying caption which is interesting and reflects a commendable aspect of the text's treatment of labor and minorities: "Although the union organization often exhibited race and ethnic prejudice, the Knights of Labor had Negro members. Frank J. Farrell, black delegate to the tenth annual convention of the Knights of Labor, introduced Terence V. Powderly in Richmond, Virginia. Likewise Samuel Gompers (whose portrait is positioned on the same page next to this engraving), born of Dutch-Jewish parents in London and reared on New York's East Side, applied business procedures to organize strong craft unions for the American Federation of Labor. How is economic insecurity related to prejudice?" This is an appropriate and provocative question indeed.

The text continues to give long passages covering just about all the historic labor topics. The Anthracite Coal Strike is given a section to itself in the chapter on Theodore Roosevelt. This is another example of treating more topics more completely than most of the texts. As a matter of fact, on this very point, this is one of the very few texts which discusses the Boston Police Strike of 1919 in terms of the issue of the right to strike against the government as well as what every other text *exclusively* notes, *viz.*, that the statement issued by Coolidge brought him to national fame for the first time. Consistent with the fine treatment of labor in this text, its consideration of the major labor laws include clear explanations of their meaning and importance and not just briefly referring to them with perhaps a listing of their important provisions.

Evaluation: Superior

Index Entries

- American Federation of Labor*, 457-458, and CIO, 658; extension, 528; steel strike, 587-588
- American Railway Union*, 458
- Anthracite coal strike*, 485-486
- Black list*, 453, 454
- Child labor*, 401, 452, 497, 526
- Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor*, 471
- Cigar Makers Union*, 457
- Committee for Industrial Organization*, 658
- Commonwealth v. Hunt*, 235
- Congress of Industrial Organization*, 658, 661
- Contract Labor Law*, 450, 455
- Debs, Eugene V.*, 458, 499, 574
- Fair Labor Standards Act*, 668-669, 744, 755
- Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions*, 457
- Gompers, Samuel*, 451, 456-457
- Hammer v. Dagenhart*, 526
- Haymarket Riot*, 455-456
- Homestead Steel Strike*, 457-458
- Industrial Workers of the World*, 574
- Knights of Labor*, 454-456, 457
- LABOR*, Ford Indian, 11; immigrants, 449-450; strife, 420; during World War I, 574
- Labor Reform Party*, 454
- LABOR UNIONS**: Clayton Anti-trust Act, 502; efforts to organize, 454-458; gains for, 528; growth, 649, 658; and legislation, 610-611; means of fighting, 453; migrant workers, 714-715; need for, 235, 448, 451-453; and Negroes, 661; post World War I, 587; Taft-Hartley Act, 742; Wagner Act, 657-658
- Meany, George*, 658
- Migrant workers*, 605, 626, 714-715
- Mitchell, John*, 399, 485
- National Industrial Recovery Act*, 649-650, 665
- National Labor Relations Act*, 657-658
- National Labor Relations Board*, 742
- National Labor Union*, 454, 610
- National Recovery Administration*, 649-650

Norris-La Guardia Anti-Injunction Act, 458
 Powderly, Terence V., 455, 456
 Pullman Strike, 454, 457, 486
 Sit-down strike, 658
 Steel strike, (1919), 587-588
 Strike, labor, 453-455, 457-458, 485-486, 587-588, 740-741
 Sylvis, William H., 454
 Taft-Hartley Act, 742, 744
 United Mine Workers, 485, 588, 658, 741
 Violence, labor, 455-458, 588
 Wages: improved, 528, minimum, 610, 744, 755, 800, strikes to raise, 740-741; unskilled workers, 451; white collar workers, 446
 Wagner Act, 657-658, 665-666, 741

A History of the United States

Wade, Wilder, Wade

Houghton Mifflin Company, 1970

This is clearly one of the finest treatments of American labor among the texts. It covers just about all the elements in the nation's labor history, beginning with a discussion of the industrial society taking shape during the Jacksonian Era where the factory town of Lowell, Massachusetts, is not romanticized as it is in so many of the texts. Beyond that, it is noted that other New England mills "paid less, enforced harsh work rules, and required women and children to work even longer hours."

A description of early labor organizations follows. After discussing the National Trades Union, the first country-wide labor organization, it is observed that "the labor movement had little real success until after the Civil War." This section also describes earlier attempts by labor to use political power through the Workingmen's Parties. They called for publicly supported schools, abolition of compulsory militia duty, and revision of laws that imprisoned debtors.

As most of the texts do, labor's opposition to immigrants is commented upon in several places. A later chapter offers considers the emergence of the early unions which accompanied the industrial society of post-Civil War America. The formation of the American Federation of Labor is described in considerable detail and at great length. There is included here a chart showing the development of national labor unions which lists all the unions established from 1866 through the merger of the AFL-CIO in 1955 and a contains a summary of their organization and goals.

This followed by a section in "Workers Strike and Management Fights Back." Labor terms, strike, boycott and secondary boycott, lockouts, and strike-breakers are all discussed. The provisions of the major labor laws are described and explained to a much greater degree than in most of the history texts. Very few of the texts include the names of contemporary labor leaders like George Meany and Walter Ruether.

Evaluation: Superior

Index Entries

AFL-CIO merger, 793, evicts Teamsters, 794, friction within, 810
 American Federation of Labor, formed,

477-478, refuses to support Debs, 481, favors League, 634, membership in 1920's, 647, membership in 1930's, 697, and CIO, 698, 793
 American plan, in labor, 647

American Railway Union, 480, 481, 505
Assembly line, 671
Automation, 794, 806, 810
Boycotts, as labor weapon, 478
Closed shop, 478, 647, 785
Commonwealth v. Hunt, 261
Company unions, 647
Congress of Industrial Organizations,
 formed, 698, merges with AFL, 793
Craft unions, 476, 477-478
Debs, Eugene V., in Pullman strike,
 480-481; becomes Socialist leader,
 552; in election of 1904, 560; in elec-
 tion of 1912, 571; jailed, 620; opposes
 Communism, 648; in election of 1920,
 651
Gompers, Samuel, p. 475, forms AFL,
 477-478; vice-president of National
 Civic Federation, 482, and labor
 during World War I, 620; and Boston
 police strike, 647
Green, William, p. 669
Hoffa, James, 794, 810
Knights of Labor formed, 476, declines,
 476, 478; in Populist party, 517

LABOR, AND WORKINGMEN'S
 PARTIES, 237-238, early unions, 260-
 261; and education, 261, 264;
 Americans at work in 1820 and 1860,
 c 300; immigrants in, 307, 469, 470; in
 prewar South, 327; unions formed
 during Civil War, 369; in industrial ex-
 pansion, 454-455, 474-475; unions of
 late 1800's, 476; AFL formed, 477-
 478; development of major unions, c
 477, c 698; in industrial disputes of
 late 1800's, 478-481; progressive
 laws concerning, 554-555; coal strike

settled by T. Roosevelt, 558; reforms
 under Taft, 566; gains under Wilson,
 577, 579; during World War I, 618,
 620, after World War I, 646-647; in
 1920's, 674; in New Deal coalition,
 687, and NRA, 693-694; benefits from
 Wagner Act, 697-698; CIO formed,
 698, and Wages and Hours Act, 704;
 and Taft-Hartley Act, 784-785; 1952
 strikes, 788-789; AFL-CIO merger,
 793; affected by automation, 794, 806,
 810; and Landrum-Griffin Act, 794;
 current labor force, c 813
Labor-Management Relations Act,
 784-785
Landrum-Griffin Act, 794
Lockouts, 479
Meany, George, p. 699, 793, 810
Migrant farm workers, 601, 798
Molly Maguires, 479
National Industrial Recovery Act, 693
National Labor Relations Act, 697-698
National Labor Relations Board,
 created, 697-698; retained by Taft-
 Hartley Act, 784, 785
National Labor Union, 476, 477
National Trades Union, 260
Open shop, 647
Powderly, Terence V., 476
Pullman strike, 480-481, 505, 522
Ruether, Walter, 793, 810
Strikes, in 1830's, 260, as labor
 weapon, 478; of late 1800's, 479-481;
 coal, 558; after World War I, 647; in
 1930's, 698, 1952 steel strike, 788-
 789
Taft-Hartley Act, passed, 784, repeal
 urged by Truman, 787
Workingmen's Parties, 237-238, 240,
 261

America: A Modern History of the United States

Freidel, Drewry

D.C. Heath & Company, 1970

More than half of the history of the United States is related on this text before we come to any discussion of the working man and organized labor. And when notes that the index entries in this text do not include such commonplaces as "automation" or the "Homestead Strike," one can quickly enough conclude that the treatment of labor here is limited indeed. In chapter 17, "The Reaction to Industrialism," a few pages of narrative quickly and almost superficially describe the early attempts at unionism by the National Labor Union and the Knights of Labor. The historical

Haymarket bombing is discussed in a single paragraph to help explain the demise of the Knights of Labor.

Samuel Gompers and the formation of the American Federation of Labor are given more impressive treatment here. An excellent item, however, in this presentation, is a two-page feature, "Decision-Making," which offers the student an opportunity to read a primary account of a strike of miners in Leadville, Colorado, at the turn of the century, written by one of the strikers. Students are challenged to respond to a series of provocative questions: "Can you determine from his description what caused the miners to strike? Was their cause justified? Would you have supported the miners? How was the decision reached? What methods were used by each side to promote its interest during the strike?" Another impressive element in this text is its discussion of the special problems of black workers.

Only a few of the important labor terms are mentioned, let alone discussed. Thus "closed shop" is incidentally mentioned in connection with the discussion of the Taft-Hartley Act. Injunction is nowhere significantly dealt with. In connection with the Pullman strike it is merely stated that Cleveland "authorized his Attorney General to obtain a court injunction against the strike, so strong that it was called a 'Gatling gun/machine gun/ on paper.'"

Even the major labor laws are inadequately discussed in terms of their provisions and consequences. So important a law as the Landrum-Griffin Act (Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act) is only identified as the Labor Reform Act of 1959 and dealt with in two sentences by simply stating a few of its provisions. On the whole, this text greatly dilutes the considerable body of labor material.

Evaluation: Fair

Index Entries

- American Federation of Labor*, 403-405; injunction against, 490; Wagner Act, 639; WWI, 539
- Boston police strike* (1919), 558
- Child labor*, 24, 469, 507
- Collective bargaining*, 632
- Congress of Industrial Organization*, union membership of, 684; Wagner Act, 639
- Debs, Eugene V.*, 428
- Fair Employment practices*, 682, 728
- Fair Labor Standards Act*, 641
- Gompers, Samuel*, 403-405, 490, 539, 558
- Haymarket bombing*, 403
- Industrial Workers of the World*, 491, 539, 543, 559
- Knights of the Golden Circle*, 325
- Knights of Labor*, 399, 402, 403
- LABOR, & New Deal*, 639-641; politics, 405; Taft-Hartley Act, 729; Wagner Act, 632, 639, 729; WWI, 539, 541-542; WW2, 684-686
- Labor, Department of*, 488
- Labor Reform Act*, 751
- Labor Relations*, 250-253
- National Industrial Recovery Act*, 616, 632-633
- National Labor Reform Party*, 399
- National Labor Union*, 399
- National Recovery Administration*, 615, 616-618
- National War Labor Board*, 539, 684
- Pullman strike*, 428
- Strikes*, 400-405; post WWI, 557; prohibition of, 251; by trade unions, 339-403
- Unions, labor*, bill of rights, 751; closed shop, 729; & Marxism, 403; & Negroes, 399

<i>Taft-Hartley Act</i>, 729, 684, & NLRA, 632; New Deal, 639-641; open shop, 490, 729; rise of, 398-399; T. Roosevelt & 489-490; strikes, 490; wage levels & 393; WWI, 539; WW2, 684	<i>Wages</i>, WW2, 684 <i>Wagner Act</i>, 632, 639, 729 <i>Working class</i>, 250-252 <i>Working conditions</i>, 398-405
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The Shaping of America

Curry, Sproat, Cramer
Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1972

As a brand new text from a new publisher in the textbook field, this text takes advantage of offering a new and fresh approach at least in some dimensions in terms of its treatment of organized labor. Thus with respect to labor terms, an important item in our criteria, there is a chart listing most of the important terms with a very clear definition. And in another way, the text offers a fresh approach. For example, there is a half-page feature on the open-shop controversy (an issue overlooked altogether by many of the texts) using a humorous but pointed anecdote from Finley Peter Dunne's "Mr. Dooly."

The first mention of labor in the text comes in an early chapter on "The Creation of Economic Sections, 1815-1860", in a long description of the development and features of the factory system. There is a splendid discussion of the emergence of "societies" formed by early skilled artisans "to protect themselves from exploitation and also to protect their skills against the new machines."

As an example of the excellent handling of labor terms in this text, besides the chart already noted, a term like "closed shop" is defined in connection with the historical discussion of *Commonwealth v. Hunt* (which case is not cited by name but is referred to as "the 1842 Massachusetts decision which ruled for the first time that workers had a right to organize and strive for the closed shop.") The major presentation of labor in this text appears in a Chapter, "Labor and Immigration, 1865-1914". Questions raised at the outset reflect the tone and quality of the treatment:

1. What conditions caused workers to organize unions?
2. What kinds of unions did they form?
3. How successful were these unions in correcting conditions?

The first topic describes the forces of industrialization which led to the problems for the working man. "Human suffering" is given as the theme of the cost of industrialization. Long hours and low wages, unsafe working conditions are the factors cited. The text goes on to describe "the profound psychological frustrations" involved in the man vs. machine problem. The loss of identity felt by the factory worker is also dealt with here. Finally, it is observed that, "Another psychological handicap for labor

was the opposition of public opinion throughout much of this era." The second topic presented is, "In Union There Is Strength." The questions raised here are:

1. What types of labor unions emerged during the latter part of the nineteenth century?
2. Why were some types of unions more successful than others?
3. Why was it difficult to organize unskilled workers?

A long and detailed narrative history of the National Labor Union and the Knights of Labor follows. Concluding the discussion, the text notes, "But as labor continued to try to make the industrial system humane as well as productive, it often found that strikes and violence were inevitable." The third topic, "Industrial Conflicts Reveal Labor's Weakness," includes comprehensive treatments of the Haymarket, Homestead, and Pullman strikes. The last paragraph of this section, called "the balance sheet," is just that. The burden of the violence is not placed upon labor as it is in a number of text treatments of these strikes. "These violent conflicts and many others reveal the powerful forces arrayed against organized labor. Industrial managers could use many potent weapons against the workers." After describing each of these "weapons" (lockout, yellow-dog contracts, blacklists), it is concluded that "The combined pressure of management, public opinion, government, and federal courts usually constituted an overwhelming obstacle to labor gains."

The subjective yet perceptively candid writing in this text is impressive. The authors comment when describing William Green, who succeeded Gompers that he was "a dimly unimaginative man." The handling of labor legislation in this text does not measure the quantity or quality of its treatment of labor terms or labor history in general. The Wagner Act and Fair Labor Standards Act are not analyzed; they are merely cited. Even Taft-Hartley is briefly noted without discussion of its important provisions let alone important implications and consequences. That it "was far from being the 'slave-law' that the unions called it" is a comment made by most of the texts. It is a surprising disappointment that as current a text as this fails to mention any of the contemporary labor leaders.

Evaluation: Excellent

Index Entries

AFL. See American Federation of Labor
 Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, 346
 Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, 637
 American Federation of Labor, 343-345, 634, merged with CIO, 732; no-strike agreement, 492
 American Railway Union, 346
 Automation, 730, 732

Blacklists, c348, 349
 Boycott, c348
 Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, 344
 Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 648
 Child labor, 337, p338-339, 437, 440, 443, 449, 561, in cities, 372, laws against, 349, 372, 454; in South, 431
 Child Labor Act, 454
 Cigar-makers Union, 343
 CIO. See Congress of Industrial Organizations

- Closed shop*, 154, c348
Collective bargaining, 343, 683, 732,
 New Deal and, 561, 566-567, 577.
See also Labor Unions
Conductor's Brotherhood, 344
Congress of Industrial Organizations,
 343, 566, 577, 732
Contract labor, 351, 353
Courts: injunctions, 348, National
 Labor Relations Board as, 683,
 railroads and, 322
Craft unions, 154, 343-344, c348 *See*
also Labor unions
Debs, Eugene V., 340, 346-348, 451,
 496
Factory system, 151-155, 154, 190
Fair Labor Standards Act, 566
Gompers, Samuel, 343, 1344, 476, 493,
 518
Hillman, Sidney
Homestead strike, 346
Industrial unions, 154, 342, c348, *See*
also Labor unions
Industrial Workers of the World, 345,
 493
Injunction, c348, 517-518, 683, cur-
 tailed by Norris-LaGuardia Act, 522,
 as a strike weapon, 348, *See also*
 Labor unions
Knights of Labor, 342-343
 LABOR UNIONS, 337-345, 1344, anti-
 trust legislation and, 454, 517-518,
 benefits to members, 348, 732, "bill of
 rights," 566, crisis in 1920's, 517-518,
 conflict between unskilled and skilled,
 343-345, conservatism of, 341, defeat
 Bryan, 430, failure of, 349, gains of,
 437, ignored by government, 411-
 414, 416, membership increases,
 344, 350, New Deal and, 561, 565-
 569, 576-577, open shop and, 1349,
 oppose immigration, 356-357, post-
 World War I, 511, 517, post World War
 II, 683, 732, racial prejudice in, 536,
 765, radicals in, 438, 577, Republican
 party and, 515, 517-518, setbacks of,
 348-349, support Cuban revolution,
 467, support tariffs, 419, strikes, 154,
 343, p347, 445, 506, 518, p567, 683,
 World War I, 493, World War II, 638
Lockout, c348
Locomotive Engineers' Brotherhood,
 344
Memorial Day Massacre, 568
Migrant workers, 733
Mitchell, John, 337, 445
National Industrial Recovery Act, 561,
 565
National Labor Reform party, 342
National Labor Relations Board, 566,
 683
National Labor Union, 342
Norris-LaGuardia Act, 522
Powderly, Terence, 342
Pullman Strike, 346-348
Railroad Brotherhoods, 344-346
Sylvia, William
Taft-Hartley Law, 683
Unions. See Labor unions
Wagner Act, 566
"Yellow Dog Contract," c348, 349

History: USA

Allen, Betts

American Book Company, 1967

The major discussion of labor history in this text appears in Chapter 17, "City Workers Seek a Better Life." The theme of the chapter is "the ambitions of people for a better life."

Beginning with a summary history of the earliest events of labor organization in 1648 when the barrelmakers and shoemakers in Boston organized, the discussion moves on to the first union contract and first collective bargaining in 1799. But there is no definition or explanation of "collective bargaining" here or at any other point in this text. As a matter of fact, an important weakness of the text is its failure to give enough explanation to a large number of labor terms.

Describing labor's limited gains in the first half of the nineteenth century, the material shifts from local to national organizations. The National Labor

Union and the Knights of Labor and their leaders are given considerable space. A good discussion of the opposition to labor unions during this period follows. The theme here is that a majority of Americans who had no contact with factories "could not accept what was presented to them as labor's discontent". In the next section the weapons employed by unions, viz., strikes picketing, and boycotts, are listed rather than discussed. Even that most crucial subject, injunctions, is simply explained as "court orders preventing unions from carrying out their strike plans."

The major historical strikes of the late nineteenth century, Haymarket, Homestead, and Pullman, emphasizes the violence in a section entitled "Labor Fights Back in a Number of Violent Strikes". A good number of references to labor appears throughout the remainder of the text. Treatment of labor legislation is comparatively summary, although all the major laws are mentioned. But analysis in this area of these laws is something less than adequate. It must be noted that no contemporary labor leaders are dealt with in this text. But the historical treatment of labor and its leaders is its major strength.

Many of the authors' subjective comments are perceptive even when they are not complimentary to labor. Thus, this statement on unionism today: "Some observers saw in the attitude of union leaders a significant if subtle reason why the labor movement had lost much of its earlier driving force." Modern union officials were described by one writer as having 'a passion for respectability,' a desire 'to be accepted by their communities as good, middle-class citizens.' This, the writer contended, had the effect of weakening the union's historic function...as a reform agency within society, 'since leaders of reform always find it difficult to gain social acceptability.' "

Evaluation: Good

Index Entries

- Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union*, 551
- American Federation of Labor*, 382-383, 524, 535, 550-551, 590
- American Railway Union*, 383, 385
- Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)*, 551, 590
- Contracy Labor Law*, 381
- Debs, Eugene V.*, 383, 385, 727
- Fair Labor Standards Act*, 557, 641
- Federation of Organized Trade and Labor Unions of the United States of America and Canada*, 382
- Gompers, Samuel*, 382, 480, 503, 524, 535
- Homestead strike*, 385
- International Ladies' Garment Workers Unions (ILGWU)*, 551
- Knights of Labor*, 381-382
- LABOR*, 380-385, 480, 513, 535, 550-551, 557, 589-590, 622-623, 641, 666-667, 704
 - business and, 380
 - growth of, 380-381
 - immigrants and, 386
 - laws, 467, 480, 623
 - New Deal and, 550-551
 - in the nineteenth century, 380-381
 - opposition to, 383-384
 - shortage in colonial times, 38, 46
 - split in, 550-551
 - strikes, 382, 384, 385, 469
 - Supreme Court on, 535, 550-551
 - working conditions, 380-381, 466-467
- Landrum-Griffin Act*, 666
- Lewis, John L.*, 551, 622-623
- Murray, Philip*, 551, 590
- National Labor Relations Act*, 557
- National Labor Relations Board (NLRB)*, 549, 550

- National Labor Union*, 381
Powderly, Terence V., 381-382
Pullman Strike, 383, 385
Strikes, 382, 383, 384, 385, 469
Taft-Hartley National Labor Relations Act, 623, 666
Unions, 380-385, 535, 551
 feather-bedding and, 623
 growth of, 381
 membership of, 551, 666
 opposition to, 383-384
 Roosevelt (F.D.) and, 551
 weapons employed by, 384
United Automobile Workers, 551, 622
United Mine Workers, 383, 469, 551, 622-623
United Steel Workers, 622
Wagner Act of 1936, 623

History of a Free People

Bragdon, McCutchen
The Macmillan Company, 1967

This is clearly one of the strongest texts reviewed in our study. The first mention of labor unions appears in the Chapter, "The Spirit of Reform". In the section on the labor movement. The authors observe that an immediate result of the industrial union was to make life more difficult for workingmen although it ultimately raised their standard of living. After an excellent discussion, the point is summed up as a matter of the workers losing "security-security of employment, security of life in small communities, and security of personal contact with employers."

A particularly noteworthy thing about this text's treatment of labor is that it is one of the very few which emphasizes labor's interest and contribution to social reform. Introducing the topic of labor as it does in the chapter on reform sharpens this. "Not only did the unions make obvious demands regarding hours and wages, they also threw their weight behind many of the reforms of the Jacksonian period. No people were more interested in the founding of public schools than the trade societies." Discussing the "collapse of the labor movement" in the middle of the nineteenth century to "the severe legal handicaps," the text goes on to discuss the English common law doctrine that forbade conspiracies in restraint of trade that was applied by state courts.

The *growth* of labor unions is described in the chapter on "Protest Movements." Again, this text places its labor discussions in appropriate chapters where it can properly be integrated into the mainstream of American history. Here a number of labor terms are explained in a description of the weapons used by employers against union activity during the period of the late nineteenth century. The Knights of Labor and the formation of the American Federation of Labor are given detailed discussion. The violence of the major strikes of this period is minimized. Indeed, the violence of the Pullman Strike of 1894 is not even mentioned. And it is here that the best and most ample treatment of labor injunctions appears among all texts surveyed.

The treatment of labor legislation in this text is not quite as comprehensive as it might be for a text which otherwise does such an excellent job of its treatment of labor topics. However, its historical analysis and interpretation places it in the highest category.

Evaluation: Superior

Index Entries

- American Federation of Labor (AFL)*, 441, 628, CIO's merger with, 723, early growth of, 437, in 1920's, 586; in World War II, 683
- Automation*, 769, 771, 775
- Black lists*, labor, 434
- Child labor*, 288, 291, 537, regulation of, 524, 533
- Closed shop*, 698
- Coal strikes*, 505-507
- Committee for Industrial Organizations (CIO)*, 639
- Commonwealth v. Hunt*, 288
- Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)*, AFL's merger with, 723; formation of, 639, in World War II, 683
- Contract Labor Law (1864)*, 434
- Debs, Eugene V.*, 438-39, 444, 518, 524, 535-36
- Fair Labor Standards Act (1938)*, 644, 646
- Gompers, Samuel*, 437, 438, 506, 536
- Haymarket Square bombing*, 437, 440, 442
- Homestead lockout*, 395, 434, 455, 457
- Knights of Labor*, 436-437, 441
- LABOR**, Eisenhower and, 721, 723-24; exploitation of, 526-27, farmer alliance with, 457-58, increasing wages of, 400-402; industrial revolution and, 266; L. Johnson and, 764, in 1920's, 584-85; organization of, *see* Labor unions; post-World War I, 568; post-World War II, 699; protection of, 533-34; T. Roosevelt and, 505-07; in World War I, 562; in World War II, 683
- Labor force*, division of, 297, 471, 778
- LABOR UNIONS**, AFL-CIO merger of, 723, Clayton Act and, 523-24, Communists and, 698; corruption in, 723-24; craft, 638; early growth of, 287, 433-40; failures of, 288; gains of, 439-40, 722; immigration and, 459, 579; industrial, 638; injunctions against, 439; membership in, 724, New Deal and, 627-28, 638-40; in 1920's, 586; Norris-La Guardia Act and, 628; strikes by, *see* Strikes; Taft-Hartley Act and, 698-99; *see also* Specific Unions
- Lewis, John L.*, 568, 639, 698-99
- Lochner v. New York*, 145
- Lockout, Homestead*, 434, 455, 457
- Murray, Philip*, 639, 699
- National Child Labor Committee*, 533
- National Industrial Recovery Act (1933)*, 626-27
- National Labor Relations Act (1935)*, 638-39
- National Labor Relations Board (NLRB)*, 628, 639, 642-43
- National Trades Union*, 287
- Norris-La Guardia Act*, 628, 698
- Pensions....union plans for*, 723
- "Rights-to-work" laws*, 764
- Strikes*, coal, 505-07; early, 287-88; 434-36, 438-39; in Eisenhower period, 723; in New Deal period, 639-40; in 1920's, 586; post-World War II, 698; railroad, 435, 436, 438-40, 459; weavers', 287; World War I and, 562; World War II and, 682; *see also* Labor unions
- Taft-Hartley Act (1947)*, 698-99, 764
- Trade unions*, *See* Labor unions
- Wages, increase in*, 400-02; minimum, 750
- Wagner Act (1935)*, 638-39, 642
- Working hours, reduction of*, 287-88
- Workingmen's party*, 287
- Workmen's compensation*, 534
- Yellow-dog contracts*, 628

United States History

Current, DeConde, Dante

Scott, Foresman and Company, 1970

In an early chapter, "Economic Development of the Nation and the Sections," this text offers one of the best narrative histories of the rise and growth of organized labor. Beginning with a vivid description of deteriorating working conditions with the rise of the factory system, it goes on to describe the early attempts to organize and bargain collectively on the part of the skilled artisans. The discussion concludes that the early unions achieved very few successes largely because of court rulings against unions as illegal conspiracies interfering with trade. Chapter 15 in this text, "The Rise of Industry," offers the main treatment of labor. Here

the rise and decline of the Knights of Labor and the emergence of the American Federation of Labor are traced. This treatment is very brief indeed.

The Homestead Strike is even more briefly noted while the Pullman Strike is given somewhat longer and more detailed discussion. The injunction element in the Pullman Strike is fully developed and this is essential to any understanding of labor history in the United States. Unlike most of the texts, this text gives considerable attention to Theodore Roosevelt and the United Mine Workers strike in the anthracite coal fields in eastern Pennsylvania. "For the first time, a President had used the power of government to seek an impartial settlement in a strike." It may well be that this strike deserves more attention than Homestead and Pullman which receive much greater attention in other texts.

Many of the labor terms are very fully and clearly defined, although collective bargaining—perhaps the most crucial term of all—is referred to rather than explained. Labor legislation is disappointingly handled. In most cases the laws are very briefly noted and not discussed. Thus, the Taft-Hartley Act is noted in two sentences. The text does not mention the landmark labor case, *Commonwealth v. Hunt* and refers to only one of the labor cases cited in our criteria, *Hammer v. Dagenhart*. Very few of the labor leaders, past or present, are mentioned in this text. What we have here is a case of the whole coming off so much better than any of its individual parts, so that the over-all treatment of labor comes out fairly well.

Evaluation: Good

Index Entries

- Automation*, 727
- American Federation of Labor*, 382, 702
- American Federation of Teachers*, 727
- Blacklisting* (def.), 427
- Child labor*, 504
- Collective bargaining*, 181
- Congress of Industrial Organizations*, 579, 702
- Debs, Eugene V.*, 385
- Fair Labor Standards Act*, 582
- Featherbedding* (def.), 727
- Gompers, Samuel*, 384, 504
- Hammer v. Dagenhart*, 504
- Homestead strike*, 384
- Injunction*, (def.), 384
- Knights of Labor*, 382-383, 423
- servants*, 28, 270; *life of workers*, 275; *new benefits*, 504; and *New Deal*, 579; and the *Populists*, 423; *prosperity in World War I*, 522
- Labor party*, 422
- Labor unions*, 277, 381; *cooperate in World War II effort*, 644; *development of*, 182; *membership crisis*, 727; *public prejudice toward*, 492
- Lewis, John L.*, 644
- National Industrial Recovery Act*, 573
- National Labor Relations Act*, 579
- National Labor Relations Board*, 579
- National Recovery Administration*, 573-574
- Pullman strike*, 384
- Railroad strikes*: of 1877, 349; of 1946, 682
- Strikes*: *def.* 182; *airline strike of 1966*, 728; *automobile strike of 1936*, 579; *coal strike of 1902*, 492-493; *coal strike of 1919*, 549-550; *declared legal*, 277; *early*, 182; *Gompers views on*, 384; *government intervention in 1960's*, 728; *Haymarket riot*, 383; *Homestead strike*, 384; and *New Deal*, 579; *Pullman strike*, 384;
- LABOR, 28, 181-182, 275-277, 381-385, 492-493, 504-505, 549-550, 579-580, 682-683; and *automation*, 727; *Dept. of Labor established*, 498; *favorably treated by Theodore Roosevelt*, 492; *fringe benefits*, 728; *gains and losses*, 381; *indentured*

railroad strike of 1877, 349, railroad strikes of 1880's, 383, railroad strike of 1946, 682, steel strike of 1919, 549-550, and Taft-Hartley Act, 683,	transportation strike of 1966, 728 <i>Taft-Hartley Labor-Management Relations Act</i> , 682 <i>Wages and Hours Law</i> , 582
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A New History of the United States An Inquiry Approach

*Bartlett, Fenton, Fowler, Mandelbaum
Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. 1969*

Since the material in this text is almost exclusively primary or documentary material, in order to use the inquiry approach as the only approach to teach with it, there is one chapter devoted to the subject of labor. In short, there are no references to the subject throughout the text as there are in traditional texts. This chapter is called, "Work and Organization." In the introductory section, "Stating the issue," there is a short review of the changes which took place in the American economy since the Civil War. What these changes meant to the workers is the issue. It is pointed out that "work involves more than a source of income for the worker and the production of goods for the market. Work is also a system of complex social relationship among men and workers and the rest of society."

Appropriate to the nature of this text, the readings focus on these relationships as they existed in a single industry, using the steel industry as a case study. The underlying changes in patterns of work described in these readings apply to other manufacturing jobs and other industries. All the major issues of labor history are raised in this chapter. The documents used in the case study include excerpts from the report of an investigation of working conditions in the steel industry by the United States Commissioner of Labor in 1913, an analysis of the strikers' discontent in the 1919 steel strike in a report made by the Interchurch World Movement. An "historical essay" concludes the material in this chapter. It is a short summary history of the labor movement in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Thus all the major episodes of labor history are given very brief treatment in a text of this kind. But in line with the aim and design of inquiry learning this approach does not aim to have students "learn" all the facts, but to learn how to study them through one vehicle—in this instance, the steel industry. Whether the traditional texts with their secondary accounts in greater length if not always depth covering all topics does a better job of teaching this or any other subject in American history is an unresolved issue in the social studies. In any event, the "coverage" of labor in a text of this kind is essentially thin except for the in-depth case study materials and topic. A look at the index entries on labor unions in the text would seem to suggest as *extensive* coverage as most texts. But what is vital to know is that, again, except for the material dealing with the steel industry many of the items indexed are not at all intensely covered. Nevertheless, a persuasive argument can be made for this text's coverage of labor as being as intensive and extensive as any number of texts which do not have

the values and the strengths offered by what is dealt with in this text and in the way it is dealt with. It must further be conceded that this kind of text is most likely to be used by somewhat above average students and therefore materials beyond the text are bound to be offered in such a course.

Evaluation: Good

Index Entries

- AF of L*, 474, 485, 610; growth of, 486-488; merger with CIO, 639; organized, 485-486
- AF of L-CIO*, 486, 639, 738, 741
- Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers*, 466, 468-469
- Boycott*, 329
- Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters*, 741
- Chavez, Cesar*, 738
- Child labor*, 264, 302, 452, 642
- Child Labor Act*, 562
- CIO*, 643; formed, 639, 487; merger with AFL, 639
- Closed shop*, 712
- Collective Bargaining*, 463
- Commonwealth v. Hunt*, 221, 482
- Contract Labor Law*, 460
- Craft Unions*, 220, 379, 474
- Debs, Eugene V.*, 542, 512
- Haymarket Affair*, 484
- Homestead strike of 1892*, 468-469
- Immigration, Labor and*, 297, 386, 456-460, 529
- IWW*, 485, 501
- LABOR**, 407-408, 463, 487, 610, 699; American colonies, 62; assembly line, 388; child, 264, 302, 452, 562, 642; immigration and, 297, 386, 456-460, 529; piece work, 471; semi-skilled, 464; skilled, 459, 461, 464, 496; specialization in, 531; unskilled, 459, 461, 464; World War I, 650; World War II, 667
- Lochner v. New York*, 483
- Lockouts, Union*, 483
- National Labor Relations Act*, 641, 642
- Picketing*, 478
- Piece-work Labor*, 471
- Powderly, Terence V.*, 484
- Randolph, A. Philip*, 175-176, 190
- Strikes*, 466; coal industry, 483; mining industry, 500-503; sit-down, 643; steel industry, 468-469, 474-478, 483, 487
- Taft-Hartley Act*, 712, 713
- UNIONS**, 479-487, 740; apprenticeship system, 301-302; building trades, 459; court prosecutions of, 221; craft, 220, 379, 474; discrimination in, 432, 740; government and, 487; growth of, 379, 482-487; injunctions, against, 482-483; lockouts, 483; membership, 220, 482, 485; picketing, 478; railroad, 486; steel industry, 467, 468-469, 474-478; strikes, 221, 468-469, 474-478, 500-503
- United Steel Workers*, 740
- Wagner Act*, 643
- Western Federation of Miners*, 501

Our American Republic

Link, Muzzey

Ginn and Company, New Edition, 1966

The rise of the laboring class is introduced in this text in an early chapter on the Jacksonian Era. "The factory system took away the independence of the artisan and made him a cog in a great machine. He was no longer the master of his own tools but the servant of expensive tools owned by his employers." The trade unions of earlier years are characterized as "feeble and local affairs". A later chapter on "The New Industrial Age" deals with a long narrative history of the earliest attempts at organizing labor beginning with the "cordwainers" strike in Philadelphia in the eighteenth century.

The treatment of the formation of the American Federation of Labor is among the best surveyed in our study. It is noted that the AFL devoted itself wholly to securing better economic conditions for the workers but no political action -- an important point made by most of the texts. While "the right of collective bargaining with employers" is listed among a set of goals of organized labor, the term itself is not defined, or explained. But on the whole this text does explain many of the important labor terms in the context of a given event or piece of legislation. Thus in a discussion of the reasons for the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, a passage is devoted to an explanation of certain "practices" (feather-bedding, secondary boycotts and jurisdictional strikes) which provoked Congress into action to deal with these practices which "if permitted resulted in severe loss of public confidence."

The major historical strikes such as Haymarket and Pullman are described at great length with perhaps too much emphasis on the violence. Referring to the Pullman episode, the authors wrote that "Trains were ditched, freight cars destroyed, and buildings looted and burned. At some point the Federal troops opened fire on the mob in order to protect their own lives." While noting that "The strike was broken by the drastic action of the government," the text does not relate what that drastic action was: the injunction. It does conclude with the observation that "Even among conservatives there was criticism of 'government by injunction' as dangerous and unjust."

Two major labor terms, collective bargaining and injunctions, are both included as index entries and are indeed referred to in several places in the text, but there is no useful explanation of what these terms mean so that the mere appearance of the terms is not in itself an indication that the student is going to be taught insightful information. This point should be borne in mind in connection with all the texts of course. Apropos of this comment, it is also to be observed here that while this text does indeed discuss the major labor laws, it does not do so with as much detail and analysis as do a number of other texts. The main strength in this text is in the nineteenth century historical treatment.

Evaluation: Good

Index Entries

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| <p>AFL-CIO, 667
 <i>Amalgamated Clothing Workers</i>, 584
 <i>American Federation of Labor</i>: organized, 361; in 1908 election, 461; and World War I, 502; in 1924 election, 542; and CIO, 584, 667
 <i>American Railway Union</i>, 392
 <i>Arbitration</i>: in labor disputes, 374, 449-450, 509
 <i>Boston</i>: police strike in, 518
 <i>Boycotts</i>: labor, 529, 638, 692
 <i>Child labor</i>, 221, 410, 469, 500, 529, 574</p> | <p><i>Collective bargaining</i>, 574, 580, 584
 <i>Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)</i>, 584; merger with AFL, 667
 <i>Debs, Eugene V.</i>, 362, 392, 396, 461, 468, 477, 510; picture, 510
 <i>Durkin, Martin P.</i>, 676
 <i>Fair Labor Standards Act</i>, 585, 680, 707-708
 <i>"Featherbedding,"</i> 638
 <i>Gompers, Samuel</i>, 361, 461, 509; picture, 361
 <i>Haymarket Riot</i>, 374
 <i>Homestead strike</i>, 390
 <i>Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)</i>, 519</p> |
|--|--|

- International Ladies' Garment Workers*, 584
Injunctions, labor, 392, 396
Jurisdictional strikes, 638
- LABOR: rise of, 220-221, 232, growth of labor force after 1860, 358, organization of, 360-361, and politics, 361-362; under Cleveland, 374, immigration and, 406, working class in 1900, 410; in election of 1908, 461; woman and, 467; and Clayton Act, 486, and Newlands Act, 486, in World War I, 502, 509, in 1920's, 518, 529; and New Deal, 574, 575, 580, 584, and defense program, 601-602; in World War II, 607, 636-639, productivity of, 666, and Landrum-Griffin Act, 692
- Labor*, Department of, 149, 449, 470
Labor-Management Relations Act, 638
Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act, 692
Landrum-Griffin Act, 692
McCormick reaper...strike in Chicago plant, 372-74
Minimum-wage laws, 469, 529, 574, 585, 643, 680, 707
- National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA)*, 574-575, 579-580
National Labor Reform party, 361-362
National Labor Relations Act, 580
National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), 638
National Labor Union, 360
Productivity of labor, 638, 666
Pullman strike, 392-393
"Right-to-work" laws, 691
"Sit-down" strikes, 584
Strikes: of cordwainers in 1799, 360; by Knights of Labor, 361, railroad (1877), 367, in 1880's, 374, steel (1892), 390, Pullman, 392-393, anthracite coal (1902), 449-450, and Newlands Act, 486, in 1919, 518, "sit-down," 584; in 1941, 602; after World War II, 636-637; and Taft-Hartley Act, 638-639; in 1950's, 667
Taft-Hartley Act, 638-639, 667
Teamsters' union, 692
United Automobile Workers, 637
United Mine Workers, 449, 584, 638
United Steelworkers, 638, 667
Wages and Hours Act, 585, 680, 707-708
Working day, in 1900, 410
Workingmen's party, 221

Perspectives in United States History

Hovenier, Gandy, Anderson, Feller, MacGraw, Weaver
Field Educational Publications, Inc. 1971

This text is arranged topically rather than chronologically so that the major historical treatment of labor appears in a late unit, "The American Economy". The presentation in this unit is a ten-page survey of American labor history from its earliest beginnings through World War I. Why the trade union movement had "a slow and checkered path throughout most of the nineteenth century" is graphically and insightfully drawn for the student reader. The employers' systematic effort to prevent unionization and to destroy unions where they already existed in the late nineteenth century includes all the major unions and strike episodes of the period. The material on the strikes focuses on the conditions and causes which brought them about rather than the violence which characterized the events.

Included in this section is a full-page reproduction of the words from the song, "Eight Hour Day," sung in the 1880's telling of the struggle of labor organizations to reduce the work day from ten to eight hours. There is also another full page excerpt from the Pullman Strikers' Statement at the Convention of the American Railway Union held in Chicago in August, 1894.

Some of the questions asked at the end of the material in this section reflect the kind of learnings students are expected to have gained from the text material:

1. How did the AFL differ from the Knights of Labor?
2. What is "bread and butter" unionism?
3. What important new legal device came out of the Pullman Strike?
4. The formation of unions faced both opposition from employers and a hostile legal and political climate. What specific factors hindered the development of trade unionism between 1870 and 1900? Do you think that the union movement is more conservative now than it was then? Why or why not?

The next major discussion of labor appears in a later chapter in this unit which deals with the Great Depression. Here the theme is that that depression spurred unionization and strengthened the labor movement. "Trade unions came to be regarded as part of the general New Deal movement for social and economic reform." An important generalization is made when the texts comments that the most important aspect of labor legislation of the New Deal was "that it removed the publicly erected barriers which had hindered unionization. These laws did not make workers join unions. Their effect was to clear the way for unions to make their case to organized workers, who then had the option to choose between union or nonunion representation."

A serious fault of this text is that although it does indeed give attention to all the important labor legislation indicated in our criteria it does fail to do more than to list provisions without any serious effort to explain or analyze what they mean. Indeed, in at least one instance the provisions of an important Act are not even indicated. Thus the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure (Landrum-Griffin) Act is merely referred to as "Another bill designed to produce greater honesty in union dealings with their own members..." Yet the Taft-Hartley Act is given attention twice in two different units in the text, the one on "Politics in America" and "The American Economy." The reason for this is probably due to the fact that the units of the hardcover text are sold separately as paperbacks.

Another disappointment in this text's treatment of labor is that many labor terms are only referred to but never defined or explained. Thus in a discussion of the Taft-Hartley Act, it is stated that "This act declared as 'unfair' certain labor practices such as featherbedding, and sympathy strikes." In its "other" discussion of this same Act in another unit of the text, the statement appears that among the provisions of the Act was that states were urged to pass "right to work" laws, "which could destroy the union shop." But there is no explanation of what "right to work" laws mean. While presenting in a first-rate fashion a history of the American labor movement in terms of showing its contributions, problems and goals, this text fails to deal adequately with two major points in our established criteria: labor terms and labor legislation.

Evaluation: Good

Index Entries

- AFL (American Federation of Labor)*, 468, 470, 714; agrees to no strike pledge, 257; conflict with CIO, 512, 532; conservative nature of, 469, 716, 721; membership in, 469, 487-488, 511; merges with CIO, 532
- Amalgamated Association of Iron & Steel Workers*, 467
- American Railway Union*, 223-224, 466, 468, 709
- Assembly line*, 478, 642-643
- Automation*, 406, 522-523, 524
- Auto industry and unions*, 479, 511, 513
- Child labor*, 162, 252, 464, 569, 732, 239, 261, 281
- CIO (Congress of Industrial Organizations)* 512-513, 532, 721
- Coal mining*: Molly Maguires, 464; strikes in, 235-237, 260, and World War I, 475
- Commonwealth V. Hunt*, 461
- Communism and labor unions*, 532
- Company unions*, 489, 511
- Debs, Eugene, dies*, 266, and election of 1900, 227-228, 234, and election of 1912, 245, and Pullman strike, 223-224, 711, and Socialist Party, 708, 709-710, and World War I, 251, 255, 709-710, 712
- Gompers, Samuel*, 732, 257, 468-469, 470, 721
- Homestead Strike*, 219, 407
- Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)* 255, 714
- Labor-Management Relation (Taft-Hartley) Act of 1946*, 302, 532
- Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959*, 532
- Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959*, 532
- Lewis, John L.*, 294, 512
- Molly Maguires*, 464
- National Labor Relations Act of 1935*, 512
- National Labor Relations Board*, 512, 513
- National Labor Union (NLU)*, 463-464, 721
- Norris-La Guardia Act of 1932*, 511
- Pullman Strike*, 22-224, 466, 468, 709, 711
- Sherman anti-Trust Act of 1887*, used against labor, 459, 469-470
- Strikes*, 728; Boston police, 264; coal, 235-37, 260, 532, and court injunctions, 468; Homestead, 219, 467; longshoremen, 281; postwar, 301; Pullman, 22-224, 468, 709, 711; railroad, 207, 465, 532; "sit-down," 288, 513; and steel industry, 513; and strikebreakers, 467; and Taft-Hartley Act, 302; and violence, 281, 288, 465, 513, 711; during World War II, 294
- Taft-Hartley Act of 1946*, 302, 532
- Unions, labor; and anti-Communism*, 532; and auto industry, 288, 479, 511, 513; and business cycles, 463, 464, 485; and Clayton Anti-Trust Act, 246-247, 474; and court injunctions, 468, 474, 511; growth of, 256-257, 288, 461-465; guaranteed collective bargaining, 279, 511, 512; membership in, 487-489, 510-512, 531-532; and New Deal legislation, 511-512; and NRA codes, 505; opposition to, 465-468, 469-470, 488, 489, 513; and political reforms, 461-465; restricted, under Harding, 260-261; and Sherman anti-Trust Act, 459, 461, 469-470; split in, 468-469, 532; and steel industry, and violence, 221, 281, 288, 465, 513, 711; and wartime no-strike pledges, 257, 531
- United Auto Workers*, 513
- United Mine Workers of America*, 135-137, 294
- Wagner Act of 1935*, 512
- War Labor Board*, 531
- LABOR**, Chinese, 209, 339-41; and company towns, 223, 466, 569; conservatism of, 227, 705; effect of education on, 440-441; excluded from 1920's prosperity, 260-261; farm, 447, 452; in Great Depression, 279, 281, 284; immigrant, 235, 339, 440, 639, 690, 720; Negro, 190, 193, 686, 755, 756-757; organization of, 153, 288; percentage in various industries, 1929-1968, 529; racism of, 339, 674; social legislation for, 338-339; and technological change, 522-524, 529, 532, 642; and Truman, 301; and "welfare capitalism," 305, 489; work-day hours, 280, 461-462; 569, 639, 729; working conditions, 235, 720, and World War II, 518

A High School History of Modern America

Shafer, Augspurger, McLemore, Finkelstein
Laidlaw Brothers, 1969

This is another of the texts included in our study which is designed for students who have a low reading level. While a full chapter is devoted to Industrialization and Big Business which gives a fairly detailed picture of big business in the late nineteenth century, *The Rise of a Labor* is a short section within another chapter on *The Beginnings of Reform*. Faulting this text as we do for its allocation of far less space to labor than it gives to business, we nevertheless must commend it for the quality of the labor material that it does present to the student. Since a text of this kind must provide a relatively short segment of history that the student can readily absorb we are not critical of the text's comparatively short descriptions of the "First Large Labor Unions" in this section.

The discussion of the problems of the working man in the era of the American industrial revolution is quite lucid. The distinction made here between craft and industrial unions is done better here than a number of the more "advanced" texts. Both the National Labor Union under William H. Sylvis and the Knights of Labor led by Terence V. Powderly are given good summary narratives. The illustration showing Powderly being introduced at a labor convention by the black labor leader, Frank Farrell, accompanies the material. Under the heading, "Some Failures of Labor," a discussion begins with the statement that "Violence, the use of force, did much to hold back the progress of labor unions." It is not suggested who was responsible for the violence, but when the text goes on to describe the Molly Maguires, whose "members thought they could win their goals by violence," and in a later discussion of the Haymarket, Homestead and Pullman episodes where the violence is emphasized, it would seem to convey to the students that it was easy to see why "people came to think that any labor union meant violence."

The treatment of Labor and the New Deal in a subsequent section gives the student a comparatively adequate discussion of the major pieces of labor legislation. There is virtually no material on labor terms. A court injunction is mentioned in connection with the Pullman Strike. The best that can be said about this text is that for the historical background of the American labor movement the amount of information which could be absorbed by high school students reading at a 7th grade level might be considered adequate. On the other hand, the text must be faulted for the heavy emphasis given to the role of violence in the strikes described in the text. Also, the failure to deal with any of the terms of labor is a serious one.

Evaluation: Fair

Index Entries

American Federation of Labor; and
Boston police strike, 532; early history

of, 407; membership campaigns in
the 1930's, 559; ousts CIO, 569-70
American Railway Union, 420-421
Boston police strike, 532

- Child labor*, 440, 554, *ill.* 440
Congress of Industrial Organizations, 559, 560-70
Debs, Eugene V., and Pullman strike, *ill.* 421
Fair Labor Standards Act, 572
Haymarket Riot, 407, *ill.* 406
Homestead Steel Strike, 407, 420
International Workers of the World (IWW), 440-41
Knights of Labor, 405, 407, *ill.* 405
 LABOR: Adamson Act, 446; AFL, 407, 559, 569-70, and automation, 673; CIO, 559, 569-70 conditions, 46, 293-94, 404-8, 420-21, 424, 439-41, 456, 465-68, 569-70, 608-09, *ill.* 404, 440, and Congress, 394, conservatives, 422, and education, 474-75; Fair Labor Standards Act, 572; Haymarket riot, 407, *ill.* 406; Homestead steel strike, 407, 420, and immigration, 454; Industrial Revolution, 375-76, and the IWW, 440-41; Knights of Labor, 405, 407, *ill.* 405; Molly Maguires, 406; National Labor Relations Board, 559, and New Deal, 569-70; Pullman strike, *ill.* 410; railroad strikes of 1877, 405, 406; recruitment of in World War II, 608; Wagner-Connelly Labor Relations Act, 559, 569
Lewis, John L., 569, 629, *ill.* 569
Mitchell, John, 429
Molly Maguires, 405
National Labor Reform Part, 405
National Labor Relations Board, 559
National Labor Union, 405
National Recovery Act, 554, 559, 552-53
New Deal...and labor, 569-70
Powderly, Terence V., 405, 407, *ill.* 405
Pullman strike, 420, 421, *ill.* 410
Stevens, Uriah S., 405
Sylvia, William H., 405
Taft-Hartley Act, 629

The American Experience:

A Study of Themes and Issues in American History

Madgic, Seaberg, Stopsky, Winks

Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1971

It must be noted that among the index entries on labor, the entry, "and Negroes, 99-101, 152, 157, 162-168;" is a reflection of one of several commendable features of this newly published text. Conflict between blacks and whites over jobs is very much a raging contemporary issue and it is an issue which has raged throughout American history. This text acknowledges and raises the issue whenever appropriate. Early in the text it is pointed out that "As in the South, skilled workers in the North and West refused to allow Negroes to work alongside them as equals or to enter their local unions. Yet many workers objected to plans to send Negroes back to Africa, since it would mean that whites would have to take over the more menial jobs generally filled by blacks." Much later the authors make an observation again not seen elsewhere among the texts that much of the New Deal legislation did not help a majority of Negroes "since most unions excluded blacks from membership." However, it is not only because it includes much material about the role of the black American in the American labor movement that we commend this text. In the chapter called "Response to Industrialism: Reaction and Reform," a powerful survey of the rise of organized labor is presented. "Histories of the laboring man in the United States usually treat only organized labor. It is too often forgotten that the vast majority of nineteenth century workers were organized."

Making this point at the outset, the authors first describe the conditions of unorganized workers and then proceed to a lengthy and detailed narrative of the workers' reactions of moderate response as represented by the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor to the radical response of the Socialist party and the Industrial Workers of the World. All the major strikes in American labor history both during this period and in later periods are described but always minimizing the violent elements. But a serious fault of this text is its failure to include discussions of labor terms. It is hard to believe that student readers can understand accounts of many of the labor disputes described in the text without knowing the language of disputes. The treatment of labor legislation is also somewhat disappointing. Legislation as important as the Wagner Act is only described in the most general terms. Thus, "certain unfair labor practices were defined, and the National Labor Relations Board was established, with the power to issue cease and desist orders to employers or unions employing such practices." Without further elaboration, this is hardly a meaningful passage to students. On the other hand, the Taft-Harley Act is presented in much greater detail and analysis. As a result of these weaknesses the text cannot quite make the top rating which in a number of other dimensions would be warranted.

Evaluation: Good

Index Entries

- American Federation of Labor (AFL)*: 162, 277-280, 292
American Labor Party: 464
American Railway Union: 278
Anthracite Coal Strike: 285-287
Child labor: 223, 279, 282, 292, 447; prohibition of, 448, 456
Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO): 168, 456, 464
Debs, Eugene V.: 278, 279-280, 321
Fair Labor Standards Act: 456
Gompers, Samuel: 277-278, 280
Haymarket riot: 277
Homestead strike: 277-278
Industrial unionism: 278-279, 280
Industrial Workers of the World (IWW): 280-282, 463
Knights of Labor: 276-277
LABOR, and automation, 594-595; Bureau of, 277; and business, 275-278, 286-287, 456, 517-518; child labor, 223, 279, 282, 292, 447, 448, 456; Clayton Act, 219; communism, 402; and Democratic Party, 456-457, 463; Federal Government, 277, 278, 281-282, 286-287, 291-292, 320, 448, 455-457, 517-518, 579-580; and immigrants, 275; in colonial period, 24; and Negroes, 99, 100-101, 152, 157, 162-163, 164-165, 167-168; New Deal, 448, 455-457; and politics, 278, 279-281, 292; post-World War II, 580, 596; and Republican party, 580; response to industrialism, 275-282, 292; and socialism, 279-282; and women, 418-419, 517, 596; working conditions in 19th century, 275-276; World War I, 281, 320; World War II, 517-518, 579
Lewis, John L.: 456, 517
National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA): 447-448, 458
National Labor Relations Board (NLRB): 456
National Labor Relations Act: 456, 459
National Recovery Administration (NRA): 448, 449, 456, 458
Powderly, Terence V.: 276, 277
Pullman strike of 1894: 278
Randolph, A. Philip: 164-165, 168, 589
Steel Workers Organizing Committee: 456
Strikes: Anthracite coal, 286-287; during World War II, 517-518, 579; following World War II, 580; Homestead, 277-278; labor tactic, 276-278, 280-282, 463, 660; Pullman,

278, sit-down, 463, student, 617, and violence, 277, 278, 281
Taft-Hartley Act: 580
Trade Unionism: 276-278, 280
Unions: black, 164-165; Clayton Act, 291, and communism, 402; during World War II, 517-518, 579; history of, 276, industrial, 278-279, 280; Industrial Workers of the World, 281, 282; Knights of Labor, 276-277, and Negroes, 100, 157, 162-163, 167-168, and New Deal, 448, 456; post World War II, 580, 596; and reform, 276-282, 286-287, 291-292, 447-448, 456, right to organize, 291; and socialism, 279-282; trade, 276-278, 280, and Truman, 580
United Automobile Workers (UAW): 456
United Mine Workers (UMW): 286, 456, 517
Violence: and unionization, 277-278, 281

A History of the United States: The Evolution of a Free People

Frost, Brown, Ellis, Fink

Follett Publishing Company, 1968

This text offers a splendid treatment of the historical growth of organized labor in the American experience. In an early chapter under the heading, "Labor is respected," the text begins on a positive note about the worth of labor and the workingman. It develops the changes in manufacturing in the nineteenth century which caused changes in labor relations. In a long section in a subsequent chapter on the late nineteenth century, "American Labor on the Move," there is an excellent review of the factors which contributed to low morale among laboring men and women.

First, "less and less satisfaction could be derived from a sense of accomplishment with the advent of mass production by machine so that the worker no longer created a finished product of his own design." Lack of job security is cited as a second reason for such low morale. "Finally, even the more enlightened industrial leaders of this period... accepted little responsibility for the working conditions, personal safety, or mental health of their laborers."

Considerable space is given to the early major labor unions, including the Knights of Labor. The Homestead and Pullman strikes are treated as great length and the violence involved is emphasized, in the former, but violence is dismissed in one sentence. The use of the injunction is given a full discussion. "In the following decades court injunctions became the favorite anti-union weapon of big business, a device feared and bitterly hated by the workers." However, most of the labor terms are completely ignored in this text and this is a serious gap in its treatment of labor. While the major labor laws are discussed they are not thoroughly explained or analyzed. Very few labor leaders are even mentioned in the text. As the Index Entry page reveals, the number of labor topics throughout the text is more limited than most of the texts included in our survey.

Evaluation: Fair

Index Entries

American Federation of Labor (AFL), 370

Automation, 630, *il* 630

Child labor, 264, *il* 354, 438, *il* 439, 479
Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO), 536

Contract Labor Law, 345

Coolidge, Calvin...and Boston police strike, Danbury Hatters, 404

Debs, Eugene V., 371-372

Fair Labor Standards Act, 594

Gompers, Samuel, 370, 434, 452 p475

Haymarket Square Riot, 360, *il* 361, 370

Homestead Strike, 371, *il* 371

Injunction, 372, 434, 438, 492

LABOR: colonial, 56-57, 85, 19th century, 264, 369-372; immigrants, 351, 387, 458-459, and big business, 356, and minimum wage, 438, 479, 539,

594, 634, and Harding, 479; World War I, 452, 474-475, and the New Deal, 529-530, 536-537, 538-539, 542; World War II, 578; and Eisenhower, 610-611; and Johnson, L., 648. *See* Legislation; Unions

Meany, George, 611, p 611

National Industrial Recovery Act, 528-529

National Labor Relations Act, 533-534

Pullman strike, 371-372

Sylvis, William H., 370

Strikes: labor organizes, 369-372, breaking, 438; legality of, 434, post-World War I, 474-475; New Deal legislation, 537, *il* 537, during World War II, 578; railroad strike, 591, 592

Taft-Hartley Act, 592, 594

UNIONS: 19th century, 370-372, 20th century, 404, 434, 438, 439, 452, 474, 475, 483, 492, 591-592; CIO, 536-537; AFL-CIO, 610-611

Wagner Act, 533

Building The American Nation

Reich, Biller

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971

This text is for slow learners and the topics of all subjects are briefly and simply treated. Since, however, it is just this kind of student who is most likely to enter the world of labor and therefore needs information about labor unions such sparse and simple coverage of this topic is discouraging.

One chapter, "Problem of American Workers," in the unit of American life in the years of 1865 to 1900, is devoted to labor. "This chapter tells about some of the problems of American workers in the earlier years of our nation." Pictures and captions make up the bulk of the chapter. Thus, "Look at the pictures in the chapter and read each caption. What do these pictures tell you about the problems of workers?" The first narrative passage describes working conditions in the factories. After a short but graphic account of the difficulties, the section concludes that, "As a result, some workers tried to join together to form labor unions. Labor unions were groups of workers who joined together to get better working conditions."

The growth of labor unions is discussed, focusing on the Knights of Labor. This is accompanied by an illustration showing Terence V. Powderly being introduced by a Negro at a meeting of the Knights of Labor. This engraving appears in a number of the texts and is of course an excellent way to show black involvement in the early days of labor. Only the Haymarket Riot among the major historical strikes is included in the

text. This was probably necessary to complete the story of the decline of the Knights of Labor.

After a consideration of a "new kind of union," the American Federation of Labor, is briefly described. The last topic is labor unions and government. "When labor unions were beginning, most state government and the federal government backed the factory owners rather than the workers. If a labor union tried to go on strike, a state court had the power to order the union not to strike. If the labor union refused to obey the court, the union's leaders were fined or sent to jail." Here, then, the labor term, "injunction," is never identified although it is described.

Given the nature and design of the text, this kind of approach may be justified. "The Wagner Act is Passed to Help Workers" is the heading of the one paragraph discussion of this legislation. "This act made it unlawful for a business or company to refuse to deal with a labor union." The establishment of the CIO is related very briefly. "And Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947 to cut down the power of labor unions, even though President Truman was against this law" is how that piece of legislation is treated. Just how useful it is for any kind of student to get this presentation of material on organized labor is a real question. Given the "specialty" of this text for secondary school students, we are still convinced that they deserve something better.

Evaluation: Poor

Index Entries

- | | |
|--|---|
| <i>American Federation of Labor</i> , 493, 645 | LABOR UNIONS, 347, 492-94, p 492, p 494, p 558, 561, 645, p 645, the government and, 493-94; on immigration, 619; in World War II, 670-71 |
| <i>Automation</i> , 703, p 703 | |
| <i>Child labor laws</i> , 548, 549 | |
| <i>Congress of Industrial Organizations</i> , 645 | <i>National Labor Union</i> , 492 |
| <i>Haymarket Riot</i> , 492-93, p 494 | <i>National Recovery Administration</i> , 638-39 |
| <i>Knights Of Labor</i> , 492, 492-493 | <i>Powderly, Terence V.</i> , 492, p 492 |
| <i>Labor conditions</i> , in industry, 314-315, 346-347, p 348, p 490, 491-492, New Deal and, 645; Progressive reform of, 619, p 548 | <i>Strikes</i> , 492, 492-494, 561, 601-02 |
| | <i>Taft-Hartley Act</i> , 689 |
| | <i>Wages and Hours Law</i> , 645 |
| | <i>Wagner Act</i> , 645, 646 |

Our American Nation

Williams and Wolf

Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., 1966

The historical treatment of labor in this text, ranging from the colonial economy to the factory system in the 1840's on through the early attempts to organize through the 1850's and into the "clashes between labor and management" in the late nineteenth century (in which the violence is given more emphasis than most texts) and then to the industrial strikes in 1919 through the New Deal up to the present, is more than adequate. In this

dimension it is equal to a large number of the texts where it does a particularly good or even better job than many is its excellent treatment of labor legislation. Thus a number of the major labor laws discussed include most of their provisions with some measure of comment on their consequences.

Likewise, labor terms are given considerable good attention. It will be noted that the index entries include several references to "collective bargaining" and "injunctions," --in the latter, eight references meaning it appears in eight different places in the text. Particularly well done is the material on labor and the New Deal. Here there is a narrative of several paragraphs headed by the title, "Collective Bargaining," which is quite effective. Many of the more recent labor leaders are mentioned in this text, including David Dubinsky whose name appears in no other text! Interestingly enough, the inclusion of Martin Durkin, the first labor man to serve in the cabinet as Secretary of Labor, is also unique. On the whole, then, this text manages to be more than satisfactory without offering enough exceptional treatment of labor subjects to be considered one of the very best among the texts.

Evaluation: Excellent

Index Entries

Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, 542
Amalgamated Clothing Workers, 703
American Federation of Labor (AFL), 521, 522, 580, 652, 703, 746, 803-804, mergers with CIO, 703, 804
Blacklist, 465
Boycott, labor, secondary, 793
Child labor, 704
Coal...strikes, 513, 584-586, 653
Collective bargaining, 726, 746-748, 804, under New Deal, 700
Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), 703, 746, 803, mergers with AFL, 703, 804
Debs, Eugene V., 542-543, 572, 586, 601
Durkin, Martin P., 785
Fair Labor Standards Act, 704
Gompers, Samuel, 521, 580, 652, 653, 663, 664
Haymarket affair, 521-522
Injunction, 543, 545, 582, 653, 664, 671, 700, 747-748
Knights of Labor, founded, 467-468, in 1880's, 520-521, 522
LABOR, 31, in colonial economy, 47-48, 63-65, 70-71, 73, 75, indenture system, 47-48, 71, 73, 311, introduction of Negro slaves, 48, effect of in-

dustrialization on, 289-290, 300-302; growth of laboring class, 289-294, 300-301; working conditions in early 19th century, 300-301; strikes, 301, 467, 513-514, 520-522, 542-543, 582, 584-586, 651-654, 663-664, 726, 746-748, 804, unionization, 301-302, 466-468; sharecropping system, 437-439; and trusts, 465; under Jackson, 466; in late 19th century, 486-488, 513-514, 520-522; clashes with management 1870's, 513-514; in 1880's, 520-522; arbitration, 520-521, 585, 653, 726, 748, 821; attitudes toward immigrants, 522, 524, injunction, 543, 545, 582, 653, 664, 671, 700, 747-748; Clayton Act, 610; in World War I, 630-631, during 1920's, 651-653, 664-666, 672-674; under New Deal, 700-704; AFL-CIO merger, 703, 804; in World War II, 746-749; and Communists, 748, 804; Taft-Hartley Act, 748-749, 751, 770, 785, 826, minimum wage, 785; under Eisenhower, 785, 792-793, after, *930, 803-804, 826

Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act, 793

Labor unions, early, 301-302, 466-468, arbitration, 520-521, 585, 653, 726, 748, 821; collective bargaining, 696; open shop, 696; and in growth under New Deal, 700-704, AFL-CIO merger,

- 703, 804, in World War II, 726
 railroad work rules, 747, 821, and
 Communists, 748, 804, Taft-Hartley
 Act, 748-749, 751, 770, 785, 826, after
 1930, 792-793, 803-804, Negroes in,
 810
- Lewis, John L.*, 653, 703, 746-748
- Mitchell, John*, 584-585
- Molly Maguires*, 513
- National Industrial Recovery Act*
 (NIRA), 695-696, 700, 701
- National Labor Reform Party*, 467
- National Labor Relations Act*, 700
- National Labor Relations Board*
 (NLRB), 696, 700, 748
- National Labor Union*, 467
- National Recovery Administration*
 (NRA), 695, 701, 703
- Powderly, Terence V.*, 467, 520-521
- Pullman strike*, 582
- Strikes*, 301, 467, 631, 664, 821, coal,
 1870's, 513, railroad 1870's, 513-514,
 in 1880's, 520-522, Homestead, 542,
 Pullman, 542-543, coal, 1902-1903,
 584-586, in 1919, 651-653, Boston
 police, 652-653, 663, in World War II,
 726, after World War II, 746-748, 804
- Taft-Hartley Labor Management Relations Act*, 748-749, 751, 770, 785,
 826
- Wagner National Labor Relations Act*,
 700, 702, 703, 748

Your Life as a Citizen

Smith, Tiegs, and Adams
Ginn and Company, 1970

This is certainly one of the most superior among the government texts on the treatment of labor. The index entries as comprehensive a coverage of labor as that found in the history texts. Chapter 20, "Americans as Workers," contains the bulk of the labor material. Questions at the outset of the chapter reflect the learnings sought by the authors:

1. How has the position of workers changed over the years?
2. What part do labor unions play in the lives of workers and in the American economic system?
3. Why and how has government entered into labor-management relations?

There is a very detailed treatment of the changing role of labor, including occupational trends, greater skills requirement of modern industry, fewer children and more women in the labor force, changing employer-employee relationships, current personnel practices including fringe benefits and, especially, the growing importance of labor in the civil service. In a section, "The Rise and Activities" of Labor Unions." There is a good summary history of labor unions with the rise of the national organizations in the late 1800's.

The second topic, "Collective Bargaining is Replacing Individual Bargaining," the concept of collective bargaining is fully developed. Labor contracts are explained in great detail covering the kinds of provisions which appear in such contracts. The union shop and the closed shop are contrasted and explained. Most importantly, there is an excellent presentation explaining how grievances are settled, including a step-by-step explanation of the procedures for settling disputes. This followed by a discussion of what happens when a union strikes. This includes a clear discussion of just what it means to picket and to boycott as part of a strike.

Mediation to prevent or halt a strike is dealt with at length. Beyond this, the authors comment that "unions are more than bargaining agents. Many labor organizations provide welfare service for their members." This is one of the very few texts to emphasize that organized labor has set up numerous educational programs to teach workers how to take a more active and intelligent part in labor activities.

There is considerable discussion of the many educational activities of organized labor. Labor legislation is discussed in very great detail with lucid analysis as is just about every labor term which is explained as well as defined. Labor in politics is a very important discussion in this text. "Organized labor... is one of the nation's most powerful lobbyists." But the authors acknowledge that it is not just for bread and butter issues that labor lobbies for. "Among the measures labor has supported in recent years are a higher minimum wage, increased social security benefits, health insurance for the aged, improved unemployment compensation, public housing and slum clearance, and various measures which help create jobs." The presentation concludes on the optimistic and positive note that "Both labor and management are seeking further ways to reduce conflict and work together for the common good."

Evaluation: Superior

Index Entries

AFL-CIO, 415, 419, 424, 425
American Federation of Labor, 414-415
Arbitration in labor disputes, 417, 418
Automation, 372-373, 410, 527
Blacklist, 412
Boycotts, labor, 417, 423
Checkoff system, 417, 423
Child labor, 32-33, 410
Closed shop, 415, 423
Collective bargaining, 415-418; laws affecting, 422-424
Congress of Industrial Organizations, 415
Contract;...labor, 412, 415-417
Fair Labor Standards Act, 422, 488
Featherbedding, 423
Federation; labor, 414-415
Industrial unions, 415
Injunction, 98, in labor disputes, 420
Knights of Labor, 414

LABOR, 409-425, changing role of, 409-414, Department of, 157, 421-422, 497, laws affecting, 124, 420-424, specialization of, 371-372, state governments and, 211, unions, 414-419, 422-425
Labor contracts, 412, 415-417
Labor force, 408-414, 484, 486-488, changes in, charts, 411, 486, 495
Labor-Management Relations Act, 423

Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act, 424
Labor Statistics, Bureau of, 422

LABOR UNIONS: activities by, 415-419, 511-512; civil service workers and, 408, 413-414; equal rights and, 107; growth of, 414-415, chart, 415; laws affecting, 422-424, in politics, 424-425, public schools promoted by, 59
Landrum-Griffin Act, 424
Lobbying;...by labor unions, 425
Lockout, 418
Monthly Labor Review, 421
National Labor Relations Act, 422-423
National Labor Relations Board, 416, 417, 422, 424
Open shop, 417
Picketing, 417, 423-424
Right-to-work laws, 417
Safety; labor laws on, 420-421
Seniority;...in labor contract, 408, 416, 417
Specialization of labor, 371-372
Steward, union, 417
Strikebreakers, 420
Strikes, 417-418, 423
Taft-Hartley Act, 423, 425
Union shop, 415
United Steelworkers of America, 419, 512
Wage and hour laws, 420, 422, 488
Wagner Act, 422-423

Work day and week, 36, 412, 416, 422,
 laws on, 420, 422
Work habits, 55
Workers: changing position of, 409-414,
 classification of, 409-414, classifica-
 tion of, 484, 486-488; laws affecting,
 420-424; unions and, 414-419, 422-
 425
Workingmen's parties, 424-425

American Government: Continuity and Change

Schick and Pfister

Houghton Mifflin Company, 1972 (JHS)

One section in a chapter of three sections entitled, "Government, Business, and Labor," is devoted to the topic of labor in this text. Apart from noting that industrialization brought about the development of labor unions, the opening "Historical" discussion is brief indeed. There is a brief reference "to the first unions (which)...were usually poorly organized and unable to hold out against opposition from employers and the courts. Eventually two giant federations of unions, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) emerged." Now this is leading out an awful lot. The concluding paragraph discusses the purpose of a union and explains the "process known as collective bargaining." Subsequent passages describe very summarily the government's change of attitude toward labor by mentioning the passage of "laws...governing working conditions, limiting the number of hours that women and children (and men in certain hazardous occupations) were permitted to work." Two paragraphs discuss the New Deal period which "saw the enactment of a series of laws designated to provide federal protection for labor and labor unions." Here the Wagner Act, Fair Labor Standards Act are described. The Taft-Hartley Act is given a longer discussion as is the Landrum-Griffin Act.

The concluding passages deals with the federal government's attempts to help settle labor disputes through mediation and conciliation. The arguments for regulating strikes are discussed judiciously. Since this is a text on government we can overlook somewhat the lack of historical information on organized labor, but it is equally as weak in its consideration of labor issues. A student would get a very small idea of what labor unions do. The tone of this text's treatment of labor suggests something less than objectivity and in several instances one gets an unsympathetic comment.

Evaluation: Fair

Index Entries

American Federation of Labor, 485
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, 120, 121, 122, 484, 485, 487
Arbitration...of labor-management disputes, 487
Autoworkers union, 485, 488

Boycott...union, 485
Closed Shop, 486
Collective Bargaining, 222, 485
Congress of Industrial Organizations, 485
Cooling-off period, 487
Injunction, 486, 487
Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act, 179

LABOR UNIONS, as interest groups, 121, 126, civil service employees in, 247, discrimination in, 268, independent 484, 486, rise of, 484-485, strikes by, 485, 486, 487-488, government attitude toward, 485-487, membership in, 486, 488, and management, 487, state regulation of, 489
Landrum-Griffin Act, 486-487
Migrant laborers, aid to, 552
Minimum wage legislation, 124-125, 486, 489
National Labor Relations Act (Wagner), 485, 486
National Labor Relations Board, 240, 485
Norris-La Guardia Act, 485
Strikes, 485, 486, government intervention in, 204, steel, 222, 223, forbidden against national government, 247, regulation of, 487-488
Taft-Hartley Act, 247, 486
Unfair labor practices, 485
United Steelworkers Union, 222, 223
Wagner Act, 485, 486
Yellow-dog contract, 485

Our Living Government

Haefner, Bruce, Carr

Scott, Foresman & Company, 1970

The material dealing with labor in this text is one of three sections in a chapter, "Government and Business and Labor". There is no historical background on the labor movement. The discussion in the section on Government and Labor begins with a general statement on labor-management problems making the key point that "the ineffectiveness of the individual in bargaining with huge companies regarding wages, hours, and conditions of employment has been superseded by a system of collective bargaining." This is followed by a strong discussion of collective bargaining. Arbitration and conciliation are then described in a long passage. The terms are defined and explained clearly and simply. An interesting item offered in this presentation is a rather detailed description of labor's political activities. The Wagner Act, Taft-Hartley Act, and Landrum-Griffin Act, are all analyzed sufficiently to give students a good grasp of these important labor laws. What this text does offer in terms of labor is fairly effective, but it is yet much too limited to give the student anything more than a minimally adequate picture of what organized labor is about.

Evaluation: Fair

Index Entries

AFL-CIO, 134
American Federation of Labor, 520-521
"Back-to-work" injunction, 525
Closed shop (def.) 362
Collective...bargaining, 191, 282, 518, 523
Congress of Industrial Organizations, 520-521
Eight hour day, 99
Employees, 362-363
Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, 520, 523, 525-526
Industrial unions, 520
Injunctions (def.), 308, 346, 362, 518, 525
LABOR, bigness in, 8, 14; child, 191, 361, 522, 526; *illus* 360; disputes, *illus* 11, and government, 519-520, 523-527; hours and wages, 191, legislation, 361, 512, 524-525, 526, migrant *illus* 523; racketeering, 321, 526-527; state service to, 522-523
Labor contracts, 518
Labor Management Relations Act of 1947, 209, 281, 512, 524-525

- LABOR UNIONS: AFL-CIO, 134, 520-521, boycott, 14, and civil service, 281-282, courses of action, 521, growth of movement, 520-521, and management, 512-513, 517-519, political activity, 105, 118-119, 521-522, state control of, 362-363
- Landrum-Griffin Act*, 526-527
- Management and Labor*, 512-513, 517-519
- Minimum wage*, 525, 526
- National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act)*, 199, 520, 523
- National Labor Relations Board*, 14, 260, 261, 290, 524 chart 265
- Norris-La Guardia Anti-Injunction Act*, 522
- Open shop (def.)*, 362
- Strikes, labor*, 362
- Unfair labor practices*, 523-524
- Union-shop agreement*, 363
- United Mine Workers*, 521

Civics in Action

Gross and Devereaux

Field Educational Publications, Inc., 1971

Revised Edition

"Liberty and Labor" is the title of the chapter in this text which deals with labor. Its opening presentation is a description of the historical evolution of the right to organize in the United States. This discussion covers the events from the landmark *Commonwealth v. Hunt* labor case through the National Labor Union, the Knights of Labor, the American Federation of Labor up to the formation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the merger between the last two in the 1950's. This is a great deal of "history" to cover in less than two pages, but it is more than many of the government texts attempt to do. The bulk of the remaining material in the chapter is essentially a discussion of the problems in labor management relations and the role of the government. Much of this is really a series of superficial references to some of the basic issues as well as mere citations of important legislation. The narrative is almost dominated by platitudes reflecting the beliefs of the authors in the essential goodness of all the parties. The chapter concludes with the bland observations: Its (government) purpose is to control the game just enough to keep it honest and fair for all. This is one more way in which government tries to preserve liberty in our democracy." While it is apparent that this text is directed to below average students, they nevertheless deserve something more meaningful and better written than this.

Evaluation: Poor

Index Entries

- AFL-CIO, 290
- American Federation of Labor, 20, 289-290
- Automobile Workers, United, 290
- "Closed shop" agreements, 292
- Committee for Industrial Organizations, 289-290
- Congress of Industrial Organizations, 289-290
- LABOR: disputes, 293-295; federal aid to, 296, and management, 290-295; organization of, 288-290
- Pickets, 293-295
- Taft-Hartley Act, 296
- UNIONS: disputes of, 293-294; federal aid to, 296; gains made by, 293; management and, 290-293; organization of, 288-290; restriction on, 296
- United Automobile Workers, 290

Understanding Our Government

Bruntz and Edgerton
Ginn and Company, 1968

The treatment of labor in this text is presented in Chapter 26, "Labor and Social Security". Why did workers organize into unions, how was the American Federation of Labor "superior" to earlier unions, how does a craft union differ from an industrial union, and what is government's relation to labor, are the questions which are dealt with in the opening section of this chapter. Of the "several things" which determines the standard of living which a worker can provide for himself and his family, "Perhaps rated highest of all is his right to bargain collectively with his employer about the conditions under which his skills are to be used," is a splendid statement by the authors which reflects the great value they obviously place on the importance and the role of organized labor. The pro-labor bias of this text is very obvious yet the treatment remains judicious and above all, accurate. Few of the history texts match the length and quality of this government text's account of the early history of labor. It touches all bases.

The next section of the chapter is devoted to important labor legislation. First there is a discussion of "labor in politics" which is revealing and candid, "...many workers do not vote as their union leadership desires. Otherwise, the Taft-Hartley Act would long since have been repealed. Moreover, nearly 80 percent of all workers do not belong to unions." reflects the directness and frankness of this text's treatment. The Norris-LaGuardia Act, the Wagner Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Taft-Hartley Act, and the Landrum-Griffin Act are all fully analyzed. An important feature of this text's treatment of labor is the provocative questions and activities which are put before the student. Although the amount of space given to labor in this text is somewhat less than many of the others, what it does include is done so well that it can only be described as excellent.

Evaluation: Excellent

Index Entries

- AFL-CIO, 155
- American Federation of Labor, 455
- Closed shop, 459
- Collective bargaining, 453-454
- Committee (congress) for Industrial Organization, 455, 457
- Committee on Political Education (COPE), 457; picture 457
- Company union, 458
- Fair Labor Standards Act, 459
- Gompers, Samuel, 455
- Injunction, 371, 458
- LABOR, 453-462; AFL, 455; CIO, 455; Department of, 337-338, 457; first unions, 453; government and, 456; hours and, 459; Knights of, 454; legislation proposed, case, 461; minimum wage, case, 460; need for unions, 453; Norris-LaGuardia Act, 458; politics and, 457; railroad, 458; seamen, 458; Social Security and, 462; standards, 338, 459; Taft-Hartley Act and, 460-461; unemployment insurance, 465; unions, restrictions on, 460-461; wages and, 459; Wagner Act, 458; War on Poverty and, 466
- Labor-Management Reporting Act, 462

- Lewis, John L.*, 455
Maximum hours, 459
National Labor Relations Act, 458
National Labor Relations Board, 340, 459
Norris-La Guardia Act, 458
Right-to-work laws, 462
Taft-Hartley Act, 460-461
Unions: craft, 455; *industrial*, 455
Wagner Act (National Labor Relations Act), 458
Yellow-dog contracts, 458

American Government

Bruntz and Bremer
Ginn and Company, 1967

In a chapter, "Labor and Social Security," the thrust of this text's treatment of labor is pretty much limited to detailed discussion of the major labor laws. This includes not only the legislation referred to throughout this study, *viz.*, Wagner Act, Taft-Hartley Act, *et al.*, but also protective legislation protecting workers' health and safety, workmen's compensation as well as wage and hour laws. There is a full section devoted to state right-to-work laws which makes this text unique in that connection. Early restrictions on unions are described in a brief historical background for the major legislation of the New Deal.

While the laws are analysed in more detail than certainly the history texts and most of the government texts, the writing is a bit heavy-handed and students may have difficulty with it. In fact, the entire graphic design of the text is comparatively unimaginative and certainly not colorful. But then, this is an older text than most of those surveyed yet it is a product of the late 60's and still probably in considerable use. On the whole, this text is a bit too dully written to be enthusiastic about its treatment of labor, but there are enough strong points in favor—especially the material on legislation—to warrant rating it relatively high on our scale.

Evaluation: Excellent

Index Entries

- AFL-CIO*, 121, 476, 479
American Federation of Labor, 476
Automation, 480, 483-484
Blacklists, 476, 477
Checkoff, 478
Child labor, 268, 482
Closed shop, 478
Collective bargaining, 475-481
Committee on Political Education (COPE), 476, *illu.*, 477
Fair Labor Standards Act, 222, 482-483
Featherbedding, 478, 481
Gompers, Samuel, 476
 and social security, 485-489, in Soviet Union, 593-594
Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947, 478-479
Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act, 479
Labor racketeering, 222
 LABOR UNIONS: 230, 475-481, and Clayton Act, 470; and political finance, 108
Lockout, 478
Minimum wages, 222, 482-483
National Industrial Recovery Act, 197
National Labor Relations Act, 51, 477-478
National Labor Relations Board, 229, 230, 477, 478, 479

LABOR: child, 268, 482, in fascist regimes, 579, 580; government aid and regulation, 51, 230, 238, 475-484,

- National Labor Relations Board v. Jones and Laughlin Steel Corp.*, 467-468
Norris-La Guardia Anti-Injunction Act, 477
Open shop, 480
Secondary boycott, 478
Taft-Hartley Act, 478-479
Union shop, 475-480
Wage and Hour laws, 482-483, chart, 483
Wildcat strikes, 478
"Yellow-dog contracts," 476, 477

Government In Our Republic

Brown, Farnen, Jr., and Peltier
The Macmillian Company, 1971

Appropriately enough for a text on government, the discussion of labor in this text is in a chapter entitled, "Government and Labor". The opening section deals with the rise and growth of labor unions, focusing on the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations and their merger. There is also full discussion on the independent unions especially the Teamsters. What further makes this text's treatment unusually informative and interesting is that teachers and unions is discussed in a long passage. Labor terms are dealt with in several passages on union legislation in general before turning to full analyses of the Wagner, Taft, and Fair Labor Standards Acts. Again, various labor terms are defined and explained. This is followed by a long section of the concept of collective bargaining. The process is described in considerable detail. What a labor contract covers and various kinds of contract problems are then detailed.

A most useful discussion of how a union local actually operates is presented to the student through the experience of a worker, "Jim Miller". Here students learn what a union local, shop steward, a grievance committee all mean. There is even a reproduction of a union membership card. This material is very useful indeed. The next two sections of the chapter deal with the government's role in labor disputes and state government and legislation and labor. "The origins, growth, and present position of labor in contemporary society should now be clear to you, as should the importance of unions in the workers' daily lives--in union benefits and restrictions, in union economic, social, and political power, and in their guarantees to the workers of a new kind of monetary security and freedom." This summing up of the chapter from the text fairly reflects what the authors have attempted and largely succeeded to do.

Evaluation: Superior

Index Entries

- American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations*, Beginning of, 424, COPE, 318; expulsion of member unions, 425; as interest group, 372; jurisdictional disputes in, 424
Automation, 430, 431
Automobile industry, strikes in, 428
Collective Bargaining, defined
Debs, Eugene V., 309
Employment, blue collar, 389, 422, 517
Discrimination, 437; equality of opportunity for, 41, 130, 411, 439; federal, 226-40, 274; problems of,

- 426, 428, 436, wages, 437, 554
Fair Labor Standards Act, 231, 80, 231, 427, 437
Gompers, Samuel, 423
International Ladies Garment Workers Union, 433
Knights of Labor, 424
 LABOR, 345, 422, 424, 429, 436, 437, 438, 439, 467-468, federal aid to, 456, 492, 495, 589
 LABOR UNIONS, 318, 389, 411, 422-433, 423, 426, 428, 518, 561, federal government's role in, 433-437, local, 430-431, state government's role in, 438-440, statistics on, 432-433, types of, 423, 424-425, 427, voting patterns of, 347
Landrum-Griffin Act of 1960, 428
Lockouts, defined, 426
National Labor Relations Act, 426
National Labor Relations Board, 60, 427, 433-434, 518
Norris-LaGuardia Act, 426
Strikes, examples of, 36-37, 425, 435, 439, 468
Taft-Hartley Act, 424, 427, 428, 434
United Automobile Workers, 428, 430
United Mine Workers, 428, 430
United Steelworkers Union, 430
Wagner Act of 1935, 424, 426-427, 433

The Challenge of American Democracy

Felder

Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1970

Labor in this text is considered in a single section of a chapter entitled "America in Business." Not surprisingly, therefore, the tone of some of the labor material reflects the business orientation of the chapter. One is struck by the author's attempt to give "balance" to the material on strikes, picketing, boycotts and lockouts which are briefly indicated in a discussion of what happens when collective bargaining fails. "But we hear so much of strife between employers and workers, and so little of the growing spirit of cooperation and of the fine and friendly relations that are being built between these groups. Employers are generally concerned about the welfare of their employees. This is the more cheerful side of the picture, and one which is looking better as time goes by."

But this Pollyana-type of expression does not, fortunately, totally reflect the text's treatment of labor. Given the four or five pages devoted to the subject, the author manages to mention a great number of things. How the student can manage to answer the "Questions on the Text" at the end of the chapter would be a "puzzlement" to us! It might be noted that among the "Problems for Thought and Discussion" in this chapter review is one out of 9 which deals directly with unions and that "problem" does not reflect much from the text: "How do you feel labor unions best serve the interests of their members?" Finally, no book on labor is included in the bibliography "For Further Reading" which indicates the utter lack of importance, let alone emphasis the text gives to labor.

Evaluation: Poor

Index Entries

- AFL-CIO*, 163
American Federation of Labor, 162-163, 167
Boycott, 163, 292
Collective bargaining, 163, 167
Congress of Industrial Organizations, 163

LABOR, government protection of, 165-167; and management relations, 103; problems in, 160-163

Labor Reform Act, 167
National Labor Relations Board, 167
Norris-LaGuardia Act, 167

Picketing, 163
Strikes, 163, 167
Unemployment, causes of, 266-267, 271; compensation, 158; in depression, 153, 157; among Negroes, 287-288, 290, 296; saving for, 160
Unions, company, 163; conditions before, 161-162; craft, 162; discrimination in, 287-288, 290, 294; industrial, 162-163; and management, 22, 27; membership in, 21; need for, 26, 160-163; restraints on, 167; rise of, 162-163, 167; tax exemption of, 145; work of, 76, 163
Wagner Act, 167
Working conditions, efforts toward better, 26; within state, 116